APOLLONIUS' ARGONAUTICA RE-EXAMINED

I

THE NEGLECTED FIRST AND SECOND BOOKS

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DONALD NORMAN LEVIN

APOLLONIUS' ARGONAUTICA

RE-EXAMINED

I

LUGDUNI BATAVORUM E. J. BRILL 1971

APOLLONIUS' *ARGONAUTICA* RE-EXAMINED

BY

DONALD NORMAN LEVIN
Rice University

I

THE NEGLECTED FIRST AND SECOND BOOKS

LUGDUNI BATAVORUM E. J. BRILL 1971

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CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS vii

INTRODUCTION 1

ARGONAUTICA I
SUBDIVIDED AND SCRUTINIZED

I. Προοίμιον 9
II. Ἐφημοσύνη 13
III. Κατάλογος Ἀργοναυτῶν 24
IV. Κατασκευάσεις 37
V. Παρὰ Λημνιάσιν 59
VI. Παρὰ Δολίοσιν 87
VII. Παρὰ Μυσοῖς 110

ARGONAUTICA II
SUBDIVIDED AND SCRUTINIZED

VIII. Παρὰ Βέβρυξιν 131
IX. Παρὰ (Βι)θυνοῖς 150
X. Διὰ Συμπληγάδων 169
XI. Ἐν Θυνιάδι νήσωι 177
XII. Παρὰ Μαριανδυνοῖς 182
XIII. Ἐν Ἀρητιάδι νήσωι 197
XIV. Παρὰ Κόλχοις 212

APPENDIX A, "And he sang how Earth and Heaven and Sea . . ." 217
APPENDIX B. "Toward Phyllis' outflow" 222
APPENDIX C. ". . . and streams of Lycus" 224
APPENDIX D. "Sailor-saving River" 226

Articles, Books, Editions, Letters, and Reviews Mentioned or Quoted 228

INDEX 237

ABBREVIATIONS

AbhBresl	=	*Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen*
AbhGött	=	*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*
AIPO	=	*Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles*
AJP	=	*American Journal of Philology*
BPW	=	*Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*
CB	=	*The Classical Bulletin*
CJ	=	*The Classical Journal*
CP	=	*Classical Philology*
CQ	=	*The Classical Quarterly*
CR	=	*The Classical Review*
CW	=	successively *The Classical Weekly and The Classical World*
DA	=	*Dissertation Abstracts. A Guide to Dissertations and Monographs Available in Microfilm*
EncIt	=	*Enciclopedia Italiana*
Érasme	=	*Érasme. Collection de textes grecs commentés*
EtG	=	*Etymologicum Genuinum*
GöttNachr	=	*Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, philologisch-historische Klasse
G&R	=	*Greece and Rome*
Helikon	=	*Helikon. Rivista di tradizione e cultura classica*
Hermathena	=	*Hermathena. A Series of Papers by Members of Trinity College, Dublin*
Hermes	=	*Hermes. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie*
HSCP	=	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
Hypomnemata	=	*Hypomnemata. Untersuchungen zur Antike und zu ihrem Nachleben*
JHS	=	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
Klio	=	*Klio. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*
MH	=	*Museum Helveticum. Revue Suisse pour l'étude de l'antiquité classique*
Mn	=	*Mnemosyne. Bibliotheca Classica Batava*
NJbb	=	successively *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* and *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum* and *Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung*
Noctes Romanae	=	*Noctes Romanae. Forschungen über die Kultur der Antike*
OCD	=	*The Oxford Classical Dictionary*
Philologus	=	*Philologus. Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum*
RABol	=	*Rendiconti delle Sessioni dell'Accademia delle Scienze dell' Istituto di Bologna*, Classe di Scienze Morali

RAL	= *Rendiconti della Classe di Scienzi morali, storiche e filologiche dell'Accademia dei Lincei*
RE	= *Paulys Real-Enzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*
REG	= *Revue des Études Grecques*
RFIC	= *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica*
RhM	= *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
RIL	= *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo.* Classe di Lettere, Scienze morali e storiche
Roschers Lexikon	= W. H. ROSCHER's *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*
RP	= *Revue de Philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*
SBWien	= *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, philos.-historische Klasse
SIFC	= *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*
TAPA	= *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*
YCS	= *Yale Classical Studies*
Zetemata	= *Zetemata. Monographien zur klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*

INTRODUCTION

I

Consider the vicissitudes through which the *Argonautica* of Apollonius passed. Initial presentation at Alexandria proved such a dismal fiasco that the author fled to Rhodes in chagrin.[1] He turned his self-imposed exile to advantage, fortunately; for he devoted much time to correcting and polishing his poem. Reissued, it became extremely successful and continued to exert influence in later ages, inspiring not only translation or adaptation,[2] but also the supreme compliment: imitation in the *Aeneid*.

The fascination of Virgil with Apollonius' epic has turned out to be a mixed blessing. Parallelisms between the *Aeneid* and the *Argonautica* are numerous enough to have impelled more than one scholar to attempt a dissertation on the subject.[3] Yet the fact that the story of the romance of Aeneas and Dido in Bk. IV of the one poem owes so much to Bk. III of the other, where Medea's love for Jason is probed and analysed, has helped to accentuate a trend in latterday scholarship toward overemphasis on that portion at the rest of the epic's expense.

One result of this trend has been a proliferation of annotated texts of Bk. III alone.[4] On the other hand, not until very recently

[1] For this and for other biographical details see the two sometimes conflicting *Vitae* prefixed to scholia on the epic (pp. 1f. of C. Wendel's edition (Berlin, 1935: repr. 1958)).

[2] The extant *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus would seem to belong in the latter category, the similarly named effort of Varro Atacinus (what little remains) in the former.

[3] Most significant of the group, I suppose, is *Apollonios de Rhodes et Virgile...* (Diss., Paris, 1894) by H. de la Ville de Mirmont. Post-doctoral contributions worthy of notice include F. Mehmel's *Virgil und Apollonius Rhodius* (= *Hamburger Arbeiten zur Altertumswissenschaft* I) (Hamburg, 1940) and M. Hügi's *Vergils Aeneïs und die hellenistische Dichtung* (= *Noctes Romanae* IV) (Bern and Stuttgart, 1952).

[4] Edited successively by M. M. Gillies (Cambridge, 1928), by A. Ardizzoni (Bari, 1958: see also my review (*CJ* LVII (1961-1962) 327-329)), who has more recently produced an annotated text and translation of Bk. I alone (Rome, 1967), and by F. Vian (Paris, 1961). J. H. E. Crees and J. C. Wordsworth isolate the entire mid-section (all of Bk. III plus IV 1-211: cf. the discussion below, p. 2) for incorporation into a school-text under the title *The Story of Medea* (Cambridge, 1927).

has the entire poem been furnished a commentary which could be deemed adequate,[1] and more than a century has gone by since the last critical *editio maior* was published.[2] Were it not for Hermann Fränkel's newly issued Oxford Classical Text of the poem,[3] information with regard to advances in Apollonian "Textkritik" and with regard to modifications in editorial approach necessitated by the unearthing of various papyri since the 1890's would remain much scattered.[4] Gillies, Ardizzoni, and Vian have at least kept abreast of such developments. But restriction to Bk. III has limited the usefulness of their contribution.[5]

Books and articles, of course, have from time to time been directed toward the whole of the *Argonautica* rather than toward any specific part. Yet too often the poem has been treated as if it were not really an entity, but a mere congeries of separable elements, any of which deserved to be subjected to analysis in isolation from its neighbors. Those who do not narrow their concern to Apollonius' use of catalogues and lists,[6] to his handling of image-

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[1] I.e. Hermann Fränkel's massive *Noten zu den Argonautika des Apollonios* (Munich, 1968). Shortcomings of G. Mooney's aunotated edition of all four Books are mercilessly catalogued by D. M. Robinson, *CW* VII (1913-1914) 174 (part of a joint review, pp. 172-176: the other publication under scrutiny is R. C. Seaton's text and translation (London and New York, 1912).

[2] R. Merkel's large Teubner text (with scholia edited by H. Keil) appeared at Leipzig in 1853-1854, his *editio minor* a year earlier. The latter has been reprinted from time to time, but never replaced by something more modern from the House of Teubner.

[3] Oxford, 1961: repr. (with corrections) 1964. See my review, *CW* LV (1961-1962) 122. This edition supersedes the turn-of-the-century Oxford Classical Text of R. C. Seaton. In quoting from the *Argonautica* I follow Fränkel's readings, unless an indication is supplied to the contrary.

[4] Fränkel's edition was antedated, however, by an important article, "Die Handschriften der Argonautika des Apollonios," *GöttNachr* 1929, pp. 164-194, postdated by a sort of ancillary monograph, *Einleitung zur kritischen Ausgabe der Argonautika des Apollonios* (= *AbhGött* phK 3F LV) (Göttingen, 1964). I have written both a shorter and a longer review of the latter. See respectively *CW* LVIII (1964-1965) 86f. and *CP* LXI (1966) 57-60.

[5] See the editions mentioned above, p. 1 and n. 4. Would that Vian, for example, who produced a separate article, "Quelques remarques sur le livre III des Argonautiques d'Apollonios de Rhodes," *RP* 3S XXXVI (1962) 36-45, to explain the choice of this or that reading for his annotated text, had taken time to pen also "Quelques remarques sur les livres I, II, IV..."! I have only recently acquired Ardizzoni's edition of Bk. I (mentioned above, p. 1 n. 4).

[6] See O. Jessen's *Prolegomena in Catalogum Argonautarum* (Diss., Berlin, 1889) and E. G. Krause's annotated edition of *Arg.* I 1-233 (Halle, 1798). Pp. 38-58 of J. F. Carspecken's wider ranging "Apollonius Rhodius and the Homeric Epic," *YCS* XIII (1952) 33-143, are likewise devoted to this sub-

ry,[1] to his "Mythologie und Göttertechnik,"[2] or to his predilection for abstruse geographical detail[3]—all of which I shall have occasion to discuss at one point or another[4]—are likely to fasten upon a particular episode, as if this were all that merited consideration. Apart from the love-relationship in Bk. III, to whose connection with the *Aeneid* I have already made reference,[5] the most popular appear to be the somewhat comparable story of Jason's dealings with Queen Hypsipyle of Lemnos (I 609-909)[6] and, to an even greater degree, "The Rape of Hylas" and "The Duel between Polydeuces and Amycus" (I 1153-1357 and II 1-163 respectively).[7]

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ject. See Ch. III below for my own discussion of the Apollonian Catalogue of Argonauts. Concerning other lists or catalogues supplied by the author of the *Argonautica* see p.36, n. 4 below and subsequent discussions in subsequent chapters.

[1] Thanks to their excellence (concerning which see also p. 6 and n. 2 below) the similes introduced by Apollonius have received much attention. Two works on this subject which I have found particularly useful are H. Faerber's *Zur dichterischen Kunst in Apollonios Rhodios' Argonautika: Die Gleichnisse* (Diss., Berlin, 1932) and I. Kulessa's *Zur Bildersprache des Apollonios von Rhodos* (Diss., Breslau, 1938). See also Carspecken, *op. cit.* (above, p. 2, n. 6) pp. 58-99. Even Hermann Fränkel's *Die homerischen Gleichnisse* (Göttingen, 1921) is highly informative regarding Apollonius.

[2] See not only D. Bassi, "L'erudizione mitologica in Apollonio Rodio," *RIL* 3S VI (1941-1942) 191-208, and L. Klein, "Die Göttertechnik in den Argonautika des Apollonios Rhodios," *Philologus* LXXXVI = NF XL (1931) 18-51 and 215-217, but also Mirmont, *op. cit.* (above, p. 1, n. 3), which happens to be subtitled *La mythologie et les dieux dans les Argonautiques et dans l'Énéide.*

[3] See particularly E. Delage, *La géographie dans les Argonautiques d'Apollonios de Rhodes* (Diss., Paris, 1930), also the much earlier *De Apollonii Rhodii Argonauticorum rebus geographicis* (= *Dissertationes Philologicae Halenses* XII 1 (Halle, 1891) 1-104) of R. Walther.

[4] Examinations of the poet's style or of particulars of grammar and syntax are too numerous to list here. Still, I should like to call attention to A. Rzach's *Grammatische Studien zu Apollonios Rhodios* (= *SBWien* phK LXXXIX (Vienna, 1878) 429-599) and to G. Marxer's *Die Sprache des Apollonius Rhodius in ihren Beziehungen zu Homer* (Diss., Zürich, 1935).

[5] See above, p. 1, n. 3. Recent studies of parallelism between Dido's situation and that of Medea include D. H. Abel's "Medea in Dido," *CB* XXXIV (1957-1958) 51-53 and 56, and "Dido and Sychaeus," *CJ* LX (1964-1965) 355-359, by E. S. Phinney, Jr. See also Ch. III (especially the last twenty pages) of B. Otis' *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford, 1963).

[6] See Ch. V below for discussion of the episode and of scholarship addressed thereto.

[7] These two narratives, as well as the sizeable bibliography which has grown up around both, are discussed below, Chs. VII and VIII respectively.

II

What I have just set down hardly constitutes a roster. Bks. I and II of Apollonius' *Argonautica* happen to be filled with episodes, major or minor, practically every one of which has had some scholarly pages devoted to it. Why, then, do I label them "The *Neglected* First and Second Books?" I do so only partly because Bk. III has won so much more attention. The earlier Books have suffered, I think, also because their various components lend themselves all too readily to examination as if in a vacuum. As a result the interconnections, often rather subtle, between one episode and another or between larger sections of a poem which falls, despite the four-Book division, into *three* main groupings,

[1] The voyage from Thessaly to Colchis (I-II)

[2] Events at Colchis, culminating in the seizure of the Golden Fleece (III-IV 211)

[3] The return-voyage (IV 212-1781)[1]

have not been sufficiently understood, and Apollonius himself has been denounced for failure to achieve "unity."

But those who issue such denunciations (as much a cliché as the admiring superlatives accorded Apollonius' depiction of the psychological turmoil of Medea-in-love)[2] themselves manifest inability or unwillingness to comprehend the poet's architectonics. And one of the factors promoting just such incomprehension is the tendency to approach the *Argonautica* in connection with studies whose primary focus, if not whose bias as well, is directed toward some predecessor, successor, or contemporary rather than toward Apollonius himself. Obviously Apollonius has imitated Homer, has influenced or been influenced by Theocritus, Callimachus, and other Alexandrians, and has served as a model for Roman poets. But their orientation—such is true even of colleagues contemporaneously active under the Ptolemies—necessarily differs from his own.[3]

[1] The same tripartite structure is recognized by Fränkel, op. cit. (above, p. 2 n. 1) pp. 21ff. Section 2 corresponds, of course, to that portion of the poem edited and annotated by Crees and Wordsworth. Cf. above, p. 1 n. 4 ad fin.

[2] Handbook stuff in either instance. I shall not here compile a list of all the compliments or slurs directed at Apollonius.

[3] Concerning the historicity of the alleged quarrel between Callimachus and Apollonius—assumed without cavil by far too many scholars—I continue

III

My intent, then, is to avoid such pitfalls. I shall view the *Argonautica* as a meaningful whole, Bks. I and II as an intelligently planned and organized larger division of that whole. Though some material of relatively slender import could have been excised by the poet without damage to his overall structure,[1] the same cannot be said of any of the major or even of most of the minor episodes occurring between I 1 and II 1285.

Some will insist nonetheless that the poem would have been better, had the author restrained himself from cramming it with aetiological or etymological lore.[2] One might as well criticize Propertius, as, in fact, some have done, for having imported mythological exempla into his elegies at every opportunity.[3] Yet in the highly artificial media chosen by the Rhodian from Alexandria and by the self-styled "Roman Callimachus" displays of this sort, often carried out in a rather subtle way whose appreciation presupposed great learning on the part of the poet's audience, become paradoxically as "natural" as the formulae and ornamental epithets of an earlier and more naïve poetic tradition.

Though he eschews formulaic language for the most part, Apollonius nonetheless retains from Homer that which is most com-

to entertain doubts, just as I did several years ago in "Apolloniana Minora," *TAPA* XCIII (1962) 154-163. See pp. 159f. especially, including n. 17, where the similar thinking of F. Spiro (see "Ricerche alessandrine," *RAL* 5S II (1893) 61-68; 337-348), of G. Coppola (see both "Il prologo degli AITIA ed il commento di Epaphroditos," *RABol* 3S VII (1932-1933) 30-55 (especially pp. 35-38) and *Cirene e il nuovo Callimaco* (Bologna, 1935) pp. 125-130), and of F. Wehrli (see "Apollonios von Rhodos und Kallimachos," *Hermes* LXXVI (1941) 14-21) is acknowledged. Even they recognize, however, that some sort of literary warfare was being carried on in Ptolemaic times and that the man from Cyrene was a leading polemicist. Whether or not Theocritus could be termed a member of the Callimachean "faction," he certainly did much as Callimachus in trying to discourage his contemporaries from undertaking epic composition. Cf. below, pp. 11f.

[1] E.g. the digression about the relationship between Aristaeus' career and the origin of the Etesian Winds (II 500-527). Rather than discuss it in Ch. IX below I have addressed myself to a particular aspect in a recently completed article entitled simply "Two Epithets of Aristaeus," Hermes XCVII (1969) 498-501.

[2] I subsume the latter under the former in discussions below. Whereas not every αἴτιον is etymological (some have to do with practices to which no special name is attached), I cannot recall having encountered in Apollonius' poem an ἐτυμολογία which was not at the same time an αἴτιον.

[3] My "Concerning Propertius 1.2," *CB* XXXV (1958-1959) 69f., is a sort of reply to E. Bignone's strictures in this regard (presented in an article s.v. "Properzio," *EncIt* XXXVIII 326f.).

patible with his own genius. For example, he appropriates the so-called "Homeric simile,"[1] and, what is more, quite often surpasses his predecessor in its use.[2]

Elsewhere he may surpass, fail to match, or merely equal what has been done by Homer or by others with whom his name has been linked. Still it will be my concern to emphasize what it is that Apollonius himself has created. Comparisons or contrasts ought to remain secondary. Never shall I view Apollonius—too many scholars have done so already—as an author important *only* in relation to this or that other author. If there is to be assessment or reassessment, let it be directed rather to Apollonius' own merits and defects.[3] The second half of the twentieth century, which has learned to appreciate the music of Vivaldi in and for itself, not merely as a foreglimpse of J. S. Bach's grandeur, ought to be able to do the same for Apollonius. Let him never again be relegated to the status of a chained captive marched along and exhibited in the triumphal Virgilian procession.[4]

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[1] Cf. the authorities listed above, p. 3, n. 1. But see also n.2, below.

[2] Cf. Mooney, op. cit. (above, p. 2, n. 1) Introd. p. 29:

> Apart from their intrinsic charm, they [sc. Apollonius' similes] set forth in a brighter light and with a relevancy of detail the incidents to which they refer. There is a special appositeness in their use which at times is not to be found in the similes of Homer.

On appositeness cf. K. W. Blumberg, *Untersuchung zur epischen Technik des Apollonios von Rhodos* (Diss., Leipzig, 1931) p. 26, whose remarks are cited and seconded by Kulessa, op. cit. (above, p. 3, n. 1) pp. 31f. See also A. Clausing, *Kritik und Exegese der homerischen Gleichnisse* (Diss., Freiburg, 1913), who not only argues that superfluous decoration is a rarity in the similes of Apollonius (pp. 54f.), but even goes on to assert that this poet constructed some of his similes to serve as deliberate criticism of Homer's practice (pp. 108f.). Contrast the views of Crees and Wordsworth, op. cit. (above, p. 1, n. 4) Introd. p. xiii, or of J. P. Mahaffy, *A History of Classical Greek Literature*[3] I (London, 1891) i 165, who contends—wrongly, in my opinion—that Apollonius' similes "are rather introduced for their prettiness than their aptness."

[3] Such is my intention both in the present study of Bks. I-II of the *Argonautica* and in a companion volume, now in preparation, in which Bks. III and IV will be submitted to similar scrutiny.

[4] Which scholar's all too correct observation I have paraphrased escapes my memory. I doubt that it could be J. W. Mackail's. Though he concedes substantive beauty and value to the *Argonautica*, he also opines that in the *Aeneid* "Virgil not only absorbed Apollonius, he effaced him" (*Lectures on Greek Poetry*[2] (London, 1911) p. 242).

ARGONAUTICA I

SUBDIVIDED AND SCRUTINIZED

CHAPTER ONE

ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ

I

Whether or not they really constitute a "major division" of the *Argonautica,* the indispensability of the first four verses cannot be denied. It is surely essential that an epic poet tell his audience at the outset what he intends to celebrate. Hence Apollonius does not fail to establish as quickly as possible that his theme is the seaborne quest for the Golden Fleece:

χρύσειον μετὰ κῶας ἐύζυγον ἤλασαν Ἀργώ. [I 4]

Why have Jason and his comrades undertaken such a mission? That they are acting in accordance with a royal behest (βασιλῆος ἐφημοσύνῃ Πελίαο) is made clear already at line 3. This brief mention serves to link up the Proem more directly with the next section of Bk. I: the thirteen verses (5ff.)[1] which indicate what motivated King Pelias to insist that the Fleece be captured and brought back to Thessaly. An even earlier reference, this time to the "Blue-Black Rocks" (πέτραι Κυάνεαι) (2f.),[2] makes the reader conscious of what is to become one of the chief obstacles to the mission's success. Not until Bk. II, however, will the dangers be spelled out, first in a prophetic speech of the seer Phineus, later in a narrative describing the actual transit (317ff. and 533ff. respectively).[3]

II

Possibly both the language of the Proem and the choice of details to be emphasized owe something to the speech assigned the Nurse at the opening of Euripides' *Medea*:

---

[1] See Ch. II below. Verbal and thematic correspondences not only between 5-7 and 15-17, but also between 1-4 and 18-22 are set forth and discussed by A. Hurst, *Apollonios de Rhodes: manière et cohérence* (= *Bibliotheca Heluetica Romana* VIII) (Rome 1967) pp. 40ff.

[2] The Symplegades, in other words. Euripides juxtaposes the two appellations at line 2 of the passage from the *Medea* cited below, p. 10 ad init.

[3] See respectively Chs. IX and X below.

Εἴθ' ὤφελ' Ἀργοῦς μὴ διαπτάσθαι σκάφος
Κόλχων ἐς αἶαν κυανέας Συμπληγάδας,
μηδ' ἐν νάπαισι Πηλίου πεσεῖν ποτε
τμηθεῖσα πεύκη, μηδ' ἐρετμῶσαι χέρας
ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων, οἳ τὸ πάγχρυσον δέρας
Πελίαι μετῆλθον...

As is to be expected, however, in a poem designedly epic both in form and in content, the most pervasive influence is that of Homer.[1] The very start of the *Argonautica*,

Ἀρχόμενος σέο, Φοῖβε, παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν
μνήσομαι...

appears to be a conflation of *Iliad* I 97 and 189:

ἐν σοὶ μὲν λήξω, σέο δ' ἄρξομαι...
...ἄειδε δ' ἄρα κλέα ἀνδρῶν

And yet the closest parallel to Apollonius' initial verses comes not from the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*,[2] but from the so-called *Homeric Hymn to Selene*:

...σέο δ' ἀρχόμενος κλέα φωτῶν
ἄισομαι ἡμιθέων...[18f.][3]

[1] Nevertheless V. De Marco, "Osservazioni su Apollonio Rodio I 1-22" *Miscellanea di studî alessandrini in memoria di A. Rostagni* (Turin, 1963) pp. 350-355, conscious of the Hellenistic tendency to disregard barriers between literary types in the interest of ποικιλία, perceives strong tragic and especially Euripidean influence not only in the Proem of the *Argonautica*, but recurrently throughout. F. Stoessl, *Apollonios Rhodios: Interpretationen zur Erzählungskunst und Quellenwertung* (Bern and Leipzig, 1941), goes even further. For he does not restrict his concern to verbal and emotional echoes of tragedy: he even finds this or that episode of Apollonius' epic to be structurally akin to some tragic prototype or prototypes.

[2] P. J. Händel, *Beobachtungen zur epischen Technik des Apollonios Rhodios* (= *Zetemata* VII) (Munich, 1954) p. 9, nonetheless finds the opening of the *Argonautica* to be thoroughly comparable with that of either of Homer's epics. Not only do both poets clarify their central theme through the attachment of a relative clause (with κλέα φωτῶν / μνήσομαι, ὅς... cf. μῆνιν ἄειδε... / ...ἥ... and ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε...ὅς...); both also refrain from blurting out the entire plot of the poem in an initial outline.

[3] Händel, loc. cit. (above, n. 2), prefers to compare rather *HH* 25,1:

Μουσάων ἄρχωμαι Ἀπόλλωνός τε Διός τε.

Still, it is the parallel with the other Hymn which excites the interest of E. S. Phinney, Jr. See his *Apollonius Rhodius* (Diss., University of California,

Note, however, that this conflationary intermediate step between Homer's originals and Apollonius' own conflation is assigned to the *end* of the poem rather than to the beginning.[1] Furthermore, the first of the verses from the *Iliad* to which I drew attention is addressed not by the poet in his own person to one of the gods, but by Nestor to mortal Agamemnon. As for the second, it refers to Achilles' recitation of heroic lays to an audience consisting only of Patroclus, his best friend.

Contextually more comparable, therefore, to Apollonius' invocation to Apollo are the acknowledgments, to Zeus this time, expressed in identical language by two contemporaries of the Alexandrian poet. Theocritus starts his seventeenth Idyll, Aratus his *Phaenomena* with the expression ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα. Having echoed the words, if not the context, of the second clause of *Iliad* I 97, the former author chiastically echoes the first clause in the second half of his own first verse:

...καὶ ἐς Δία λήγετε, Μοῖσαι

III

How ought we to interpret this widespread predilection for Homeric locutions? They are utilized not only by Apollonius, the would-be resuscitator of epic in the Hellenistic age,[2] but also, paradoxically, both by a poet whose didactic contribution turns out to be no lengthier than the standard epyllion,[3] and by a poet whose

1963: repr. Ann Arbor, 1966) p. 2. "If this proem is compared with the proem of the *Argonautica*," he observes, "it will be seen that Selene corresponds to Apollo in Apollonius' verses and that the unknown rhapsode's ἄισομαι corresponds to Apollonius' μνήσομαι."

[1] "I think the variance is only apparent," contends Phinney in a letter dated April 10, 1968, "since the end of a prooemium is also the beginning of the poetic saga which followed. This missing saga is the equivalent of Apollonius' poem."

[2] K. J. F. von Ziegler, *Das hellenistische Epos: Ein vergessenes Kapitel griechischer Dichtung* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1934), endeavors to show that, far from staking out a minority position, Apollonius sided with the majority; for epics continued to be produced in great quantity throughout the period of Ptolemaic rule at Alexandria. The latest to attack this theory is Brooks Otis. See op. cit. (above, p. 3, n. 5) pp. 396-398.

[3] *Pace* W. Allen, Jr., whose "The Epyllion: A Chapter in the History of Literary Criticism," *TAPA* LXXI (1940) 1-26, merits attentive scrutiny, I employ the term mainly for the sake of convenience. Similarly, when I use the name Homer, I am not taking sides in the unitarian-analyst controversy, but simply avoiding such cumbersome periphrases as "the author or authors of the *Iliad* and/or *Odyssey*."

opposition to any attempt at epic revival is clearly expressed in his own extant writings.[1]

The power of tradition should be recognized as the key, of course. Homer's manner affected all subsequent Greek literature. Even the anti-epic stance of Theocritus is dictated by admiration for the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* rather than by disrespect. In fact, the Syracusan seems to regard as disrespectful rather the desire of some to compete with Homer's achievement:

> ὥς μοι καὶ τέκτων μέγ' ἀπέχθεται ὅστις ἐρευνῆι
> ἶσον ὄρευς κορυφᾶι τελέσαι δόμον Ὠρομέδοντος,
> καὶ Μοισᾶν ὄρνιχες ὅσοι ποτὶ Χῖον ἀοιδόν
> ἀντία κοκκύζοντες ἐτώσια μοχθίζοντι. [*Id.* 7, 45-48][2]

At any rate, whether or not Theocritus, annoyed with Apollonius for having dared to write an epic poem, then set out to "correct" the Hylas- and Amycus-narratives of his Alexandrian contemporary by issuing his own thirteenth and twenty-second Idylls—so some scholars argue, but the priority of *Argonautica* I-II is far from proven[3]—there can be no doubt that Apollonius has elected to do exactly what Theocritus counsels against doing: he not only imitates Homer; he tries to surpass him.[4]

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[1] See the passage cited below from the seventh Idyll.

[2] In quoting here, as elsewhere (e.g. above, p. 11: see also below, *passim*), from the works of Theocritus I follow the text supplied in A. S. F. Gow's edition (*Bucolici Graeci*, Oxford, 1952: repr. with corrections 1958).

[3] See the discussion below, Chs. VII-VIII ad init.

[4] The handling of imagery (see above, p. 6 and n. 2, also *passim* in Chs. IVff. below) is only one of several departments in which the author of the *Argonautica* vies successfully with his predecessor. He makes an effort, for example, to produce better catalogues (see especially Ch. III below). Even his avoidance of formulae (cf. above, p. 5) seems to have been governed by a desire to replace tired conventions with something new and fresh.

CHAPTER TWO

ΕΦΗΜΟΣΥΝΗ

I

Whereas in the Proem the *raison d'être* of the Argo's voyage was briefly indicated (I 3f.),[1] why King Pelias should have insisted on gaining possession of the Golden Fleece remains obscure. Clarification comes rather at lines 5-17, where it is shown that the Thessalian monarch, far from actually wishing to have the Fleece brought back from Colchis, has feigned such desire in order to have an excuse for sending his nephew Jason on a dangerous mission from which he would be most unlikely to return alive. Having assigned a task practically impossible of fulfillment, Pelias hopes that the unsuspecting youth will either perish at sea or meet his doom in the midst of dwellers in a remote and alien place (15-17).

Lest his readers think this a totally unmotivated display of malevolence, the poet has already shown that Jason's uncle was tortured by fear. From consultation of oracles Pelias learned that he would be threatened with overthrow through the machinations of a man shod only with a single sandal (5-7).[2] Up until now he has had no cause for suspicion of his nephew. But the latter has just returned from a difficult crossing of the storm-swollen River Anaurus, in the process of which he managed to save one of his sandals, while losing the other (8-11). No sooner does the uncle recognize the nephew as his adversary, than he improvises what he expects to be an effective plan for eliminating the threat completely.[3]

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[1] Partially cited above, p. 9. See also p. 20 and n. 6 below.

[2] Pindar likewise tells of this oracular warning (*P* 4,70ff.), as does Pherecydes (see the scholium on the Pindaric passage). Cf. Apollodorus I 9,16 and other postclassical accounts listed in the note ad loc. supplied by Sir J. G. Frazer in his two-volume edition of *The Library* (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1921). Concerning similarities and differences between Pindar's version and that of Apollonius see Händel, op. cit. (above, p. 10, n. 2) p. 14.

[3] According to Apollodorus, loc. cit. (above, n. 2), however, Pelias asks Jason how he himself would deal with a citizen shown by an oracle to be plotting against him. "Whether at haphazard or instigated by the angry Hera in order that Medea should prove a curse to Pelias, who did not honour Hera" (I am quoting from Frazer's translation), Jason replies that he would

Pelias' expectations are destined to be frustrated, of course. Not only will Jason return to Iolcus bearing the Golden Fleece; he will also be accompanied by his Colchian bride, Medea, without whose aid the mission could not have been brought to a successful end. Thus Medea plays a part in frustrating the nefarious designs of Pelias. Moreover she rather than Jason himself will contrive the more immediate instrumentality for bringing about the offending uncle's demise. How ironic it is that in the very attempt to forestall doom Pelias should insure its coming to pass! Had he not sent Jason off to Colchis, Medea would never have been brought into the Thessalian ruler's presence to implement a conspiracy against him.

II

There is irony even in the manner of the assassination itself. Medea will trick the victim's gullible daughters into performing the deed in the belief that their act is only a first step toward his ultimate rejuvenation.

All this lies outside the plot of the *Argonautica*, however.[1] Apollonius' epic ends with the return of Jason and his comrades to Pagasae and with their debarkation there (IV 1781). Yet the epic's four Books contain not a few prophecies, foreshadowings, or even obscure hints of happenings posterior to the return of the Argonauts.[2] The initial suggestion that Pelias will not succeed in averting his doom is subordinated to prediction of another event which lies outside the *Argonautica* proper: the revenge-slaying of Zetes and Calaïs at Heracles' hands. That deed is destined to take place, says the poet, after the death of Pelias (Πελίαο δεδουπότος) (I 1304).[3]

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send the would-be assassin off to fetch the Golden Fleece. "No sooner did Pelias hear that," Apollodorus continues (in Frazer's version once again), "than he bade him go in quest of the fleece." Concerning Hera's vital rôle in the Apollonian version of the story see below, pp. 15ff.

[1] Euripides handles the story in his *Peliades*, preserved unfortunately only in fragments. See A. Nauck's second edition of that dramatist's works (Leipzig, 1885), III 162f., for citation of Moses Chorenensis' résumé of the lost tragedy's argument. Cf. the details supplied by Hyginus, *Fab.* 24.

[2] On this subject as well as with reference to prophesied or foreshadowed actions whose occurrence falls within the limits of the Apollonian poem see both C. H. Moore's "Prophecy in the Ancient Epic," *HSCP* XXXII (1921) 99-175 (especially pp. 128-133), and G. E. Duckworth's more valuable *Foreshadowing and Suspense in the Epics of Homer, Apollonius, and Vergil* (Diss., Princeton, 1933).

[3] Apollonius at least explains why Heracles was so enraged with the two youths: they had opposed sailing back to Mysia to seek him, once his absence

In Bks. III and IV it is nevertheless made clear that the ultimate instigator of Pelias' downfall is not Medea, but the goddess Hera. Medea will operate rather as the tool of that divinity's purpose:

...ὧς γὰρ τόγε μήδετο[1] Ἥρη,
ὄφρα κακὸν Πελίῃ ἱερὴν ἐς Ἰωλκὸν ἵκηται
Αἰαίη Μήδεια λιποῦσ' ἄπο πατρίδα γαῖαν. [III 1134-1136]

οἱ δ', ἀνέμου λαιψηρὰ θεῆς βουλῇσιν ἀέντος
Ἥρης, ὄφρ' ὤκιστα κακὸν Πελίαο δόμοισιν
Αἰαίη Μήδεια Πελασγίδα γαῖαν ἵκηται. [IV 241-243][2]

III

What has Pelias done to merit divine punishment? Or is Hera simply contriving to bring to completion a doom which had been foreordained and even published oracularly? Scrutiny of I 5f.,

τοίην γὰρ Πελίης φάτιν ἔκλυεν, ὥς μιν ὀπίσσω
μοῖρα μένει στυγερή...

would seem to support such a view. Yet the ensuing verse-and-a-half concerning the threat posed by the man with one sandal, while not exactly untrue, nonetheless proves misleading. Failing to comprehend the real nature of what awaits him, Pelias concerns himself only to be rid of Jason without resorting to anything so direct as assassination. He should have given thought instead to including Hera among the deities honored at his banquet. Lines 13f.,

εἰλαπίνης ἧν πατρὶ Ποσειδάωνι καὶ ἄλλοις
ῥέζε θεοῖς, Ἥρης δὲ Πελασγίδος οὐκ ἀλέγιζεν.[3]

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from the ship had been discovered. Concerning the not unrelated altercation between Telamon and Jason see below, p. 112.

[1] Does Apollonius wish to remind his readers of the possible etymological connection between the verb and the proper noun Μήδεια (introduced two verses later: see below)? I admit that I may be imputing to the subtle poet from Alexandria a subtler touch than even he intended.

[2] When I referred earlier to Apollonius' avoidance of formulae (see above, p. 5, also p. 12, n. 4), I did not mean to suggest that this poet never employs them at all. But what appears here, I suspect, is not so much formula as conscious verbal echoing, other examples of which will be signalled in ensuing chapters.

[3] To call Hera "Pelasgic" = "Thessalian" (cf. IV 243, cited above) is very much in the Homeric fashion, according to the scholiast, who cites the reference to Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος at *Iliad* B 681 in a context clearly concerned with the armed forces assembled by Achilles. Also Homeric is the combination of

constitute, then, a sort of foreshadowing of what is to come as well as an explanation of the attitude of Hera signalled in the passages from Bks. III and IV which I have already quoted.[1]

I have yet to quote, however, the key-passage in the series. Apollonius has done well in not revealing everything at once.[2] The ominous hint laid down at I 14 must wait until early in Bk. III, the occasion of the embassy of Hera and Athena to Aphrodite,[3] for clarification in Hera's own words. The goddess reveals first her concern for the Argonauts, newly arrived in Colchis, and for Jason in particular (III 59f.). She is ready to aid the latter with all the strength at her command, no matter what the circumstances (61ff.), "lest Pelias become mockingly mirthful at having averted his evil doom" (ὄφρα μὴ ἐγγελάσῃ Πελίης κακὸν οἶτον ἀλύξας) (64).[4]

What has prompted this declaration is made clear in an attached relative clause:

ὅς μ' ὑπερηνορέῃ θυέων ἀγέραστον ἔθηκεν. [65]

ἀλεγίζειν with a negative. Cf. *Iliad* A 160; 180; Θ 477; Λ 80; M 238; O 106. The parent-verb ἀλέγειν is similarly employed in the *Odyssey* with reference to the Cyclopes, who care not at all about one another (ι 115) and who are disinclined likewise to pay any attention to the gods (275f.). With regard to resemblances between Cyclopean impiety and that of the Argonaut Idas see p. 51, n. 2 below. Is R. Roux, *Le problème des Argonautes* (Paris, 1949) p. 79, correct in claiming that Pelias out of narrow-minded arrogance (quite in contrast to the syncretizing Ptolemies) has chosen a *personal* divinity (Poseidon) in preference to the more *national* Hera?

[1] Cf. Duckworth, op. cit. (above, p. 14, n. 2) p. 33 and n. 81, who lists these passages along with I 5-7 and 1304 (discussed briefly above, pp. 13 and 14 respectively), as well as III 61-65 (cf. below), yet who omits any specific reference to I 13f.

[2] Cf. p. 10, n. 2 above. Revelation by degrees is, of course, the concomitant of a narrative method which relies so heavily on prophecy (or foreshadowing) and fulfillment.

[3] Apollonius regularly designates the third goddess by one or the other of two epithets: Κύπρις and Κυθέρεια. For the sake of convenience I shall continue to use the more familiar name, though Ἀφροδίτη appears not at all in the text of Apollonius' epic.

[4] Just as in the Proem (see the discussion above, pp. 9ff. and p. 10, n. 1) Apollonius' language here may owe something to the *Medea* of Euripides. The heroïne of that tragedy indicates again and again that aversion to being ridiculed is a primary motive for her actions. See not only 1362 (σάφ' ἴσθι· λύει δ' ἄλγος, ἢν σὺ μὴ 'γγελᾷς), addressed directly to Jason, but also 381-383; 404-406; 794-797; 1049f.; 1354f. For examination of this subject see especially G. Tarditi, "Euripide e il dramma di Medea," *RFIC* NS XXXV (1957) 354-371, also K. Kunst, *Die Frauengestalten im attischen Drama* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1922) p. 93. My own "Medea's Fear of Ridicule" (presented at a meeting of The Texas Classical Association, Georgetown, Texas, April 15, 1967) is similarly directed.

Perhaps the omission indicated in I 14 resulted only from an oversight.[1] But the goddess appears convinced not only that she has been dishonored, but also that her discomfiture is the product of calculated arrogance on Pelias' part. Retribution thus becomes an absolute necessity. But it cannot be fulfilled, Hera avers, unless Aphrodite by setting into movement the complex interplay of causation guaranteed to bring Medea to Jason's aid guarantees thereby also the return of the Argonauts to Thessaly with the Golden Fleece. Hera does not spell this out all at once. Yet such is the import of the negatively framed conditional statement which brings to a close her second speech to Aphrodite:

...οὐδέ κε λώβην
τείσειεν Πελίης, εἰ μὴ σύ γε νόστον ὀπάσσῃς. [III 74f.]

IV

If Hera understandably loathes Pelias and schemes his downfall, she no less understandably comes again and again to the assistance of Jason and the Argonauts. But there is more to her benefactions than the mere desire to convert Jason (and even more directly Medea) into a tool of her retributory designs.[2] For, just as punishment must be meted out to Pelias for having slighted Hera, so Pelias' nephew deserves to be rewarded for having done the same goddess a good turn.

Actually Hera has repaid Jason's service several times over before the deed which merits such a generous response is even specified in the *Argonautica*.[3] And the explanation comes to us not from the poet speaking in his own person, but in a speech assigned to the

[1] Contrast the case of Euripides' Hippolytus, whose non-inclusion of Aphrodite in sacrificial rites allows for no such ambiguity of motive.

[2] With regard to Medea's subordinate rôle as agent rather than as ultimate instigator cf. above, pp. 15f. and the passages from Bks. III and IV cited there. Note that the Euripidean Aphrodite's schemes for revenge against Hippolytus (concerning whose attitude see n. 1 above) similarly entails the conversion of an innocent female bystander, this time Phaedra, into an emotionally involved participant.

[3] Hence I am rather disinclined to accept the contention of Mirmont, op. cit. (above, p. 1, n. 3) p. 376, to the effect that Hera for her own part "déteste bien plus Pélias qu'elle n'aime Jason" and that Jason himself "n'est qu'un instrument aux mains de la déesse." Mirmont's iteration (cf. p. 375, also p. 377) of claims which I think more applicable to the case of Medea (cf. n. 2 above) appears to have been motivated largely by a desire to confute the "benevolent goddess" theory advanced by M. Hémardinquer, *De Apollonii Rhodii Argonauticis* (Diss., Paris, 1872) pp. 43f.

deity herself. When Apollonius told of Jason's having lost a sandal in the act of crossing the River Anaurus, his main concern was to establish a connection between the behest of Pelias that his nephew recover the Golden Fleece and the oracular warning that Pelias himself must be on guard against a one-sandalled man.[1] It is left, then, for Hera to explain that Jason has been dear to her ever since the time when, posing as an old lady, she put human virtue under examination (III 66f.). Jason passed the test superbly. Coming from the hunt, he took pity on the goddess-in-disguise and carried her on his shoulders across the raging stream (68-73).[2]

Was it then that Jason lost his sandal? Hera does not say so; yet the settings for that occurrence and for the youth's good deed appear to be one and the same.[3] In any case, the doom of Pelias shows indeed some significant connection with the sandal's loss, though in ways which the victim himself in his imperfect state of knowledge fails to comprehend. He has no inkling that the conspiracy against him originates with a disgruntled divinity rather than with a kinsman eager to dispossess him of his throne. Note, however, the complexity of the causal chain. The nephew is destined to play a rôle in the uncle's downfall not out of personal ambition, but because Hera, pleased with the benefactions of the one and ired at the other's neglect, has chosen to protect the former *both* out of gratitude *and* with the ulterior goal of punishing the latter.[4] Con-

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[1] Cf. above, p. 13.

[2] The parallel with the legend of St. Christopher has caught the attention of Gillies, for one. See his note ad loc. Others have pointed to what, though it may not correspond quite so closely, is nonetheless more *à propos*: Callimachus' treatment of the story of Theseus and Hecale.

[3] Gillies' objection,

> ...but here, Jason is returning from the chase, there, he is making his way to a sacrifice.

need not be taken too seriously. A single trek could have brought Jason from the hunting grounds to the scene of the sacrificial rites, with a brief delay to aid the spurious crone in crossing the Anaurus.

[4] I stress the conjunctions as a reminder of my disagreement with Mirmont. Cf. p. 17, n. 3 above. Predecessors of Apollonius (specifically Pindar and Pherecydes: see above, p. 13, n. 2), though they may mention the same oracle as does he, say nothing whatsoever about Hera's feeling obligated to Jason as a result of beneficent action on his part. Is E. Knorr (see p. 13 of his *De Apollonii Rhodii Argonauticorum fontibus quaestiones selectae* (Diss., Leipzig, 1902)) justified, then, in regarding the story of the good deed as Apollonius' own invention? Possibly. I hesitate to go further in the case of a poet hardly less disinclined than Callimachus (see fr. 612 Pf., along with the suggestion of Mooney, op. cit. (above, p. 2, n. 1) Introd., p. 28, which I am here paraphrasing) to sing that which is "unattested" (ἀμάρτυρον).

sider again the irony of Pelias' misguided effort to counteract the oracular warning. Not only will Jason survive the expedition, thanks in large part to constant divine aid; he will also bring back the Golden Fleece, requested by Pelias without being seriously desired, and Medea, whose lethal advent had never even been reckoned into the monarch's plans.[1]

V

How the Golden Fleece came to repose in Colchis will not be fully explained until late in Bk. II. Argus II, one of Phrixus' sons,[2] will supply the details (1141ff.). Later still the same youth will address himself to his grandfather, King Aeëtes of Colchis (III 320ff.), and will try to persuade him to relinquish the Fleece voluntarily. We knew as far back as lines 5ff. of Bk. I that Pelias' reaction to an oracle lay behind the dispatch of Jason from the royal court at Iolcus.[3] But what disposed Jason to accept the mission is not clarified until much later, first by the hero himself,

> ...ἐπεὶ Φρίξοιο θυηλάς
> στέλλομαι ἀμπλήσων, Ζηνὸς χόλον Αἰολίδῃσιν. [II 1194f.]

subsequently by Argus II, the addressee of this statement, who relays to Aeëtes more or less the same information:

> τόνδε τις ἱέμενος πάτρης ἀπάνευθεν ἐλάσσαι
> καὶ κτεάνων βασιλεύς, περιώσιον οὕνεκεν ἀλκῆι
> σφωϊτέρῃι πάντεσσι μετέπρεπεν Αἰολίδῃσιν,
> πέμπει δεῦρο νέεσθαι, ἀμήχανον.[4] οὐδ' ὑπαλύξειν
> στεῦται ἀμειλίκτοιο Διὸς θυμαλγέα μῆνιν
> καὶ χόλον οὐδ' ἄτλητον ἄγος Φρίξοιό τε ποινάς
> Αἰολιδέων γενεήν, πρὶν ἐς Ἑλλάδα κῶας ἱκέσθαι. [III 333-339]

Consider, however, the embellishments which the son of Phrixus has added. By introducing the construction with στεῦται and infini-

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[1] Cf. pp. 14f. above. With regard to additional ironic elements see below, pp. 21-23.

[2] I employ Roman numerals to distinguish the Phrixid Argus from the son of Arestor (Argus I). Also included among the Argonauts are two heroes named Ancaeus and two named Iphitus. See Ch. III below. Concerning the not so accidental encounter between the crew of the Argo and Phrixus' sons see below, Ch. XIII.

[3] Cf. above, p. 13.

[4] The significance of this adjective and of closely related terms (all of which become prominent in the *Argonautica*) is discussed below, Ch. IV. See especially p. 49, n. 2.

tive, normally reserved for threats and boasts,[1] he seems to suggest that Pelias may be prevaricating.[2] At any rate, he does not shrink from ascribing malice to an individual whom, though a kinsman,[3] he has never even met and whom he disdainfully categorizes as "some king or other."[4]

Pelias' rank proves not irrelevant, surely, to his success in constraining Jason to take upon himself a most unwelcome task. The actual behest is designated sometimes as Πελίαο ἐφετμή (or ἐφετμαί) (I 981; II 763), sometimes as βασιλῆος ἐφετμή (II 210; 615; III 390),[5] sometimes (i.e. at I 279) as both simultaneously.[6] So far as Jason's mother Alcimede is concerned, it deserves nonetheless to be called "evil" (κακή) (ibid.).[7] Phineus will employ the even more frightening modifier κρυερή (II 210), and will be seconded by Jason himself, who will emphasize, moreover, not only the chilling fearsomeness of the order and his own reluctance to obey it,[8] but also the reckless folly of Pelias in issuing it in the first place:

> ...τίς δ' ἂν τόσον οἶδμα περῆσαι
> τλαίη ἑκὼν ὀθνεῖον ἐπὶ κτέρας; ἀλλά με δαίμων
> καὶ κρυερὴ βασιλῆος ἀτασθάλου ὦρσεν ἐφετμή. [III 388-390]

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[1] See, for example, *Iliad I* 241 and Aeschylus, *Persians* 49f., even Apollonius III 579f. At II 1204 a vaunt (with present infinitive: threats tend to be construed with the future) is attributed to Aeëtes:

> στεῦται δ' Ἠελίου γόνος ἔμμεναι...

Note that here also Argus II happens to be the speaker. Cf. below.

[2] One may object, however, that when Argus II utilizes a comparable construction with reference to his grandfather (see the verse partially cited above, n. 1), no fakery need be implied. Aeëtes is indeed what he claims to be: a scion of the Sungod. Concerning this genealogical detail see also below, Ch. III (especially p. 30, n. 4). In Ch. XIII below (see especially pp. 206-208) family ties between the royal houses of Colchis and of Thessaly are subjected to examination.

[3] Argus II must be aware of this, since Pelias' nephew has already underscored his own blood-relationship with the Phrixids (II 1160ff.: see below, p. 208).

[4] Perhaps I have exaggerated the import of τις...βασιλεύς in lines 333f. Yet this is certainly a strange way to refer to even the most distant cousin. Could it be that Argus II, in an effort to gain sympathy for Jason and to dispel Aeëtes' suspicions, has deliberately depersonalized the individual who demanded the return of the Golden Fleece?

[5] The last of these instances is cited more fully below.

[6] Cf. βασιλῆος ἐφημοσύνῃ Πελίαο (I 3: cited also above, p. 9).

[7] The mother's attitudes and the efforts of the son to change them are discussed below, Ch. IV.

[8] After the successful traversal of the Symplegades he nonetheless even went so far as to berate himself for having failed to refuse when he had the chance (II 624-626). Concerning his mood, see below, pp. 173ff.

The addition of δαίμων as a subject of the verb ὦρσεν shows how aware Jason was that a divine purpose may have had as much to do with the expedition as did Pelias' malevolence. And yet, though both he and Argus II express suspicion of Pelias, neither realizes that fear for his own safety rather than a desire to appropriate what is rightfully Jason's has impelled the monarch to act as he did. Nor does either understand that the divinely instituted plan which Jason must subserve, whether or not it really entailed freeing the Aeolids from Zeus' anger, certainly has as a major goal the wreaking of vengeance upon Pelias for his failure to accord a divinity—Hera, as it happens—the proper respect.[1]

VI

Not only the remarks of Argus II about Pelias and his behest, but those of Jason also are addressed to King Aeëtes of Colchis. Both young men have perhaps exaggerated the nastiness of the Thessalian ruler and the outrageous folly of his demands as much out of diplomacy as out of misunderstanding of the true motivation behind them. Argus' objective, which he knows to be practically impossible of attainment, is to cajole Aeëtes into handing over the Fleece. Having by now become well practised in diplomatic niceties, Jason will attempt to do the same.[2]

The difficulty of the latter's task is compounded, however, by what has happened in the interim. Just as Argus II had predicted even before the arrival of the Argonauts at Colchis (II 1202ff.),[3] Aeëtes proves utterly intractable. However, an element of the unexpected—at least from Argus' and Jason's standpoint—enters into his reaction. Had Aeëtes believed that the Argonauts travelled all the way from Thessaly only to fetch the Golden Fleece for Pelias,

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[1] Cf. the discussion above, pp. 15f.

[2] On Jason's rôle as arch-practitioner of gentle persuasion see Chs. IVff. below, especially Ch. V. Similarities in this and other regards between Jason and Argus II are stressed by P. A. Hübscher, *Die Charakteristik der Personen in Apollonios' Argonautika* (Diss., Freiburg in der Schweiz, 1936 [1940]) pp. 52ff. Cf. Phinney, op. cit. (above, p. 10, n. 3) p. 100, n. 27, who rightly categorizes the latter youth's address to his grandfather (see *Arg.* III 320ff.) as an instance of "a well-thought-out and eloquent *diplomacy* [emphasis mine] that is not far from Jason's." Concerning the courteous exchange of speeches between the two see pp. 203ff. below.

[3] Cf. below, p. 210.

he might not have responded quite as he did. But he rushes immediately instead to the conclusion that the story of Pelias' behest has been counterfeited to mask an imminent attempt at usurpation of power:

> αὐτίχ' ὁμαρτήσαντες ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος, οὐδ' ἐπὶ κῶας,
> σκῆπτρα δὲ καὶ τιμὴν βασιληΐδα, δεῦρο νέεσθε. [III 375f.]

Aeëtes' suspicions are not so much baseless as misdirected. His natural distrust of outsiders would have prevented him years before from receiving the refugee Phrixus into his home, had not Zeus intervened.[1] But now the sight of Phrixus' sons in the company of newcomers from abroad confirms, so far as Aeëtes is concerned, the validity of the oracle of his father Helios, which bade him to be on guard against a plot hatched by members of his own family (594ff.). Fearing not Chalciope nor Apsyrtus nor even Medea (602ff.)—how blind he was to the real import of the oracle!—he had fastened suspicion rather upon his grandsons. Under the circumstances it is hardly surprising that he should have endorsed rather than discouraged the trip to far off Orchomenus which the youths proposed to take in accordance with deceased Phrixus' final wish (601f.).[2]

G. E. Duckworth asserts that Aeëtes' misinterpretation of the prophecy "is one of the very few instances of irony to be found in the *Argonautica*."[3] Apparently his definition of the term and mine do not coïncide. I find all four Books of Apollonius' epic to be replete with ironic situations.[4] Not only Aeëtes, but Pelias too has imperfectly interpreted an oracle.[5] And, like his Colchian counterpart, the uneasy ruler of Thessaly has as a result dispatched suspect kin on a sea-voyage to obtain something associated originally with Phrixus.

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[1] Concerning Phrixus' flight from Orchomenus see especially Ch. XIII below.

[2] The ill-fated voyage and its aftermath have already been narrated at II 1093ff. See below, pp. 202ff.

[3] Op. cit. (above, p. 14, n. 2) p. 78.

[4] Several are acknowledged by Hermann Fränkel. See p. 18 and n. 12 of his "Das Argonautenepos des Apollonios," *MH* XIV (1957) 1-19. Concerning the ironies which arise in connection with the visit of Hera and Athena to Aphrodite (some aspects of which are considered above, pp. 16f.) see also Mirmont, op. cit. (above, p. 1, n.3) p. 385. I shall look into the subject more closely in Vol. II.

[5] On the irony of the latter's misconstruing of oracular evidence see above, p. 14. The failures of both monarchs in this regard are discussed by Fränkel. See op. cit. (above, p. 2, n.1) pp. 35ff.; 347ff.; 362f.

For the Golden Fleece is in a way the analogue of the wealth left behind at Orchomenus at the time of Phrixus' flight.[1] Both monarchs are frustrated nonetheless of their hope that from a dangerous quest there will be no return. It is understood by neither of the two that the real wreaker of havoc will be not Jason, not the Phrixids, but shy and gentle (until aroused or provoked) Medea, the chosen instrument of the divine purpose.[2]

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[1] An important distinction should be noted, however. It was the father, not the grandfather, who originally asked that the trip to Orchomenus be undertaken. Cf. above, p. 22. See also II 1095f. and 1147-1156, with the discussion below, pp. 202f. and 206. Phrixus' request and the sons' willingness to take risks in order to reclaim what was rightfully theirs proved most convenient for Aeëtes, who simply expressed agreement and even provided a ship (not very seaworthy, as it turned out). By contrast, there is no real incentive for Jason to be eager to lay hold of an object, namely the Fleece, ostensibly coveted by his uncle. Having been advised that failure to carry out the mission would expose the family to divine wrath (see II 1194f. and III 336f., cited above, pp. 19), he accedes out of a sense of duty.

[2] With regard to the functioning of this instrumentality against Pelias specifically see above, pp. 14, also p. 17 with n. 2.

CHAPTER THREE

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ ΑΡΓΟΝΑΥΤΩΝ

I

Having explained what impelled Pelias to send his nephew off to fetch the Golden Fleece, Apollonius devotes more than two hundred subsequent verses to listing whom Jason recruited to aid him in accomplishing his mission. In a literature replete with catalogues, whether in prose or in verse (e.g. Herodotus VII 61-99 and Aeschylus, *Persians* 302-330 respectively), as well as with catalogue-poems such as the lost Ἠοῖαι of Hesiod, the most compelling exemplar for the Homerically oriented author of the *Argonautica* remains, of course, *Iliad* B. Therein are to be found both the so-called Catalogue of Ships (494-760) and a somewhat slenderer itemization of Trojan and allied contingents and their leaders (815-877).[1]

II

That the Catalogue of Ships is organized geographically is readily apparent, and has been frequently enough noted by scholars.[2] The almost thirty entries fall into a more or less symmetrical pattern:

[1-7]	Mainland:	Central	(494-558)
[8-13]		Southern	(559-624)
[14-15]	Islands:	Western	(625-637)
[17-20]		Eastern	(645-680)[3]
[21-29]	Mainland:	Northern	(681-759)

[1] I leave aside the question of whether these κατάλογοι are integral to the *Iliad* or a later accretion. For the sake of convenience I shall simply assume Homeric authorship of the whole of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Cf. above, p. 11, n. 3.

[2] See, for example, T. W. Allen, *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships* (Oxford, 1921).

[3] Has Aetolia, which ought to be grouped with such Central Greek regions as Phocis and Locris, been shifted to position #16 (638-644) lest the west-east transition seem too abrupt?

Though geographically arranged likewise (from north to south), the Catalogue of Trojan Allies focusses less on regions than on the ἔθνη who inhabit them.

What of Apollonius' Catalogue? The Argonauts come not as leaders of armed multitudes, but as individual participants in the expedition undertaken by Jason. Nonetheless they are listed, more than fifty in all, not alphabetically, not in descending or ascending order of prestige, not even—as in the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus (I 352-486)—according to assignment to rowing benches.[1] Rather the Apollonian arrangement follows the Homeric; for it is undeniably both geographic and symmetrical:

THRACE (I)

[1] Orpheus (23-34)

THESSALY (I)

[2] Asterion (35-39)
[3] Polyphemus (40-44)
[4] Iphiclus I (45-48)
[5] Admetus (49f.)
[6-8] Erytus, Echion, Aethalides (51-56)
[9] Coronus (57-64)
[10] Mopsus (65f.)[2]
[11] Eurydamas (67f.)[3]

LOCRIS

[12] Menoetius (69f.)
[13-15] Eurytion, Eribotes, Oïleus (71-76)

EUBOEA

[16] Canthus (77-85)
[17-18] Clytius, Iphitus I (86-89)[4]

[1] Concerning the rationale of Valerius' Catalogue (which he happens to prefer to that of Apollonius) see the long note on I 351 supplied by P. Langen in his edition of the poem (Berlin, 1896-1897; repr. Hildesheim, 1964).

[2] Further information about this hero is incorporated into the listing for Canthus (#16: see lines 77f.). See also below, p. 36 and Ch. XII.

[3] The predominance of Thessalians is hardly surprising. Jason himself happens to be native to the region, as is also his cousin Acastus (#54: see below, p. 28 and n. 2).

[4] Both are sons of Eurytus and native to Oechalia. Despite testimony to the contrary in the Catalogue of Ships—does Homer really assume the ex-

ATTICA

[19-20] Telamon, Peleus (90-94)[1]
[21-22] Butes, Phalerus (95-100)
Theseus, Pirithus (101-104)[2]

BOEOTIA

[23] Tiphys (105-110)
[24] Argus I (111-114)[3]

PHLIUS

[25] Phleas (115-117)

ARGOLIS

[26-28] Talaüs, Areïus, Leodocus (118-121)
[29-30] Heracles, Hylas (122-131)
[31] Nauplius (133-139)
[32] Idmon (139-145)

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istence of one πόλις Εὐρύτου Οἰχαλιῆος in Messenia (*Iliad* B 596), of another in Thessaly (730)?—a scholium on the Apollonian passage insists that Euboea was the site of the town in question.

[1] In this entry Apollonius notes that the pair had to flee the island of Aegina after having murdered a third brother, Phocus. Rather than list them separately under present place of residence (Attic Salamis in the one case, Thessalian Achaea Phthiotis in the other) the poet has chosen to stress the kinship of Telamon and Peleus even while admitting that they did not reach the Argonauts' midst together.

[2] These two heroes remain unnumbered here because they never actually come aboard the Argo—at least not in Apollonius' version of the story. Whereas Apollodorus makes Theseus an Argonaut (I 9,16) and Hyginus makes room both for Theseus and for Pirithus (14), Apollonius states that at the time when Jason was seeking recruits Theseus still endeavored to rescue Pirithus from captivity in the Underworld. On the reasons for Jason's decision not to include Atalanta, despite her interest in joining (explained not in the Catalogue, but at I 769ff.: she is certified as an Argonaut both by Apollodorus (loc. cit.) and by Diodorus (IV 41,2)), see below, p. 68 and n. 2.

[3] Apollonius calls him Ἀρεστορίδης, but tells nothing about his place of origin—unless by extension. For his colleague Tiphys is said to have come from Siphae, a Thespian deme. Argus II (concerning the distinction see above, p. 19, n. 2) and his three brothers are omitted from the Catalogue, since their enlistment as Argonautic crewmen will not come until quite late in the course of the voyage to Colchis. See Ch. XIII below. Some ancient authorities confuse the two Argi (e.g. Pherecydes). Concerning a context in which Apollonius himself has not specified which of the two he has in mind see below, p. 214 and n. 1.

LACONIA (I)

[33-34] Polydeuces, Castor (146-150)
[35-36] Lynceus, Idas (151-155)
[37] Periclymenus (156-160)

ARCADIA

[38-40] Amphidamas, Cepheus, Ancaeus I (161-171)

ELIS

[41] Augeas (172-175)

ACHAEA

[42-43] Asterius, Amphion (176-178)

LACONIA (II)

[44] Euphemus (179-184)[1]

IONIA

[45-46] Erginus, Ancaeus II (185-189)[2]

AETOLIA [3]

[47-48] Meleager, Laöcoön (190-198)

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[1] Some have explained this hero's placement here as an attempt to make the shift from the Peloponnesus to Asia Minor less abrupt. Yet I suspect that the real link is genealogical: Euphemus, like the Milesians, Erginus and Ancaeus II, is a son of Poseidon. Cf. below, p. 30, also p. 191.

[2] Whereas Apollonius seems to have been aware that the Greek presence in Miletus dates back to early times, the author of the *Iliad*, though dealing with heroes supposedly active a generation after the Argonautic expedition, nevertheless leaves the site still under Barbarian control (B 867f.). It may be that the Carians held Ionia both before the era of Hellenic settlement and for a while between the collapse of the Mycenaean kingships and the arrival of fresh waves of Greeks displaced by the Dorian invasion. Which poet, then, is the more anachronistic? Allen, op. cit. (above, p. 24, n. 2) pp. 25f. and 165, n. 2, indicts Apollonius. However, V. Burr, Νεῶν Κατάλογος: *Untersuchungen zum homerischen Schiffskatalog* (= *Klio* Beiheft XLIX NF XXXVI) (1944) (repr. Aalen, 1961) p. 150, suspects that the Miletus awarded by Homer to the Carians was distinct from the city which the Achaeans appear to have established in the fourteenth century B.C.

[3] Why the sudden shift back to the Greek Peninsula? Something rather similar occurs in the Catalogue of Ships. But see my suggested explanation above, p. 24, n. 3. Had Apollonius chosen to list the three sons of Poseidon elsewhere, a smooth progression across the Corinthian Gulf from Achaea to Aetolia would have been possible.

[49] Iphiclus II (199-201)[1]
[50] Palaemonius (202-206)

PHOCIS

[51] Iphitus II (207-210)

THRACE (II)

[52-53] Zetes, Calais (211-223)

THESSALY (II)

[54] Acastus (224-227)[2]

Is J. F. Carspecken right with regard to Apollonius' Catalogue in suggesting that, first of all, "the basic design is a *periplus* of the Greek Mainland," and that, furthermore, a desire to remind the reader "that the coastline of Greece is the line of organization" is the rationale behind stress on coastal towns at the expense of places away from the sea?[3] I should like to think so.

III

Despite the conviction of certain scholars that in the *Argonautica* as a whole and in the Catalogue in particular geography takes precedence over all else,[4] other concerns play a very significant part in

[1] Since Iphiclus II, like Laöcoön, appears to be a kinsman of Meleager (cf. below, p. 30), perhaps the three heroes should be regarded as bound together in a single Catalogue-entry.

[2] How ironic! Whereas Pelias' nephew Jason undertakes the search for the Golden Fleece with little enthusiasm and only because he has been forced into it (cf. Ch. II above, also below, Chs. IV and X), the same monarch's own son refused to stay at home (I 224-226), even enlisted as an Argonaut without troubling to secure parental permission (323). Consequently his arrival at the ship in the company of Argus I (note that in Catalogue-entry #54 the names of the two heroes have already been linked) caused no little surprise among the assembled Argonauts. Heracles likewise joined the expedition against a kinsman's will (that of his harsh taskmaster Eurystheus: see I 130f.). On the other hand, Canthus' eagerness to take part was shared by his father Canethus, who dispatched him from Euboea (77f.). There is irony in this too. For Canthus was fated never to return (79ff.). Cf. below, p. 36 and Ch. XII.

[3] Op. cit. (above, p. 2, n. 6) p. 46. A. Lesky, *A History of Greek Literature* (translated from the second German edition by J. Willis and C. de Heer) (London, 1966) p. 731, likewise understands the Apollonian Catalogue to be "geographically arranged in the manner of a periplus."

[4] With reference to the Catalogue see Walther and Delage, opp. citt. (above, p. 3, n. 3) pp. 4-9 and 38-49 respectively. The latter's assertion that in the entire poem such elements as astronomy, magic, nautical art, depiction

shaping and organizing the roster of Argonautic crewmen supplied by Apollonius. Not only is the poet ready to tell us from which region each has been recruited; he wishes also to place his heroes genealogically, whether through reference to antecedents or through indication of a blood relationship with someone whose name has already appeared in the Catalogue.

Exceptions to this latter rule are extremely rare. Though the Catalogue omits mention of the ancestry either of Heracles or of Hylas, this information will be supplied later in Bk. I (respectively at 1188 and at 1212f.).[1] Only Admetus is deprived of all genealogy whatsoever.[2] Could it be that the poet expected his readers to make the necessary connections from their knowledge of the Euripidean play in which the same hero figures so prominently?[3] Like a considerable number of the persons brought aboard the Argo, only in the Catalogue will Admetus be allowed individual mention. Elsewhere he, Asterion, Coronus, and others will become as submerged into the whole as do the unnamed soldiers-in-the-ranks who accompany this or that commander to the siege of Troy.[4]

Why consider the family ties both of Argonauts who will play important rôles and of those who will not? There are several reasons for Apollonius' having proceeded as he did. First and most obvious is the necessity for distinguishing between bearers of the same name. For Jason's crew includes two Iphicli (##4 and 9), two Iphiti (##18 and 51), two Ancaei (##40 and 46), even two Argi, only

of love, and mythology, though interesting to the reader, fall short of the geographical in importance (p. 9) elicits the strong condemnation of H. H. Koch. See *Die Hylasgeschichte bei Apollonios Rhodios, Theokrit, Properz und Valerius Flaccus* (Diss., Kiel, 1955) p. 6, n. 1. A less extreme position is taken by L. Pearson, "Apollonius of Rhodes and the Old Geographers," *AJP* LIX (1938) 443-459, who recognizes an effort on the poet's part to bring geography and mythology into combination, much as did the logographers from Ionia.

[1] Cf. Ch. VII below, also p. 30.

[2] Pirithus too is named without reference to relatives, living or dead. But, at least in Apollonius' poem, he never becomes an Argonaut. Cf. above, p. 26, n. 2.

[3] From Euripides rather than from Apollonius they would know too that Admetus' bride Alcestis was a cousin of Jason, being, like Acastus, Πελίου παῖς (*Alcestis* 37; 82). As it happens, Acastus too is mentioned in the play. See line 732.

[4] On the Chorus-like rôle assigned to the bulk of the Argonauts throughout the poem see Phinney, op. cit. (above, p. 10, n. 3) pp. 73f. At p. 74, n. 34, Phinney suggests that Medea's twelve Phaeacian handmaidens likewise behave much in the fashion of dramatic Choruses.

one of whom (#24) is listed in the Catalogue.[1] Reference to place of origin could be utilized later to indicate which of two similarly named heroes has performed this or that deed or has made such and such a statement. Yet Apollonius finds it even more advisable to identify Argus I and Argus II as sons respectively of Arestor and of Phrixus, Iphitus I and Iphitus II as sons respectively of Eurytus and of Naubolus, Iphiclus I and Iphiclus II as uncles respectively of Jason and of Meleager, Ancaeus I and Ancaeus II as sons respectively of Lycurgus and of Poseidon.

The last instance is worth considering further. By citing the antecedents of every—or of almost every—Argonaut the poet can show what a large number of Jason's comrades trace their lineage back to the gods. Ancaeus II turns out to be not the sole descendant of Poseidon to have been enrolled. Others are Nauplius, Euphemus, and Erginus.[2] Similarly the Argonautic roster includes offspring of Hermes (Erytus and Echion), of Apollo (Idmon),[3] of Helios (Augeas),[4] of Boreas (Zetes and Calaïs), even of Zeus himself (Polydeuces and Castor, also Heracles), as well as of the Muse Calliope (Orpheus).

IV

Genealogical rather than geographic considerations govern also the Appendix (I 229-233), which most scholars classify simply as part of the Catalogue of Argonauts.[5] Insofar as Apollonius attempts

[1] Concerning the second Argus' ultimate inclusion, with his brothers, among the Argonauts see especially Ch. XIII below. See also above, p. 19, n. 2; 26, n. 3; below, n. 4. Other latecomers are Lycus' son Dascylus and the three sons of Deïmachus, who enroll respectively from Mariandynia (II 802ff.) and from Cappadocia (955ff.). Cf. below, Chs. XII and XIII respectively.

[2] Cf. below, Ch. XII.

[3] On his being at the same time an authentic Minyan, as were Jason, Acastus, Mopsus, et al., see K. O. Müller, *Orchomenos und die Minyer*[2] (Breslau, 1844) pp. 253ff. See also below, p. 31, n. 1.

[4] The same deity is also maternal great-grandfather, via Aeëtes and his daughter Chalciope, of those last Argonauts to be recruited: Argus II and his brothers. From Homer we learn that Augeas' eldest daughter Agamede was a sorceress, just as were her kinswomen, Medea and Circe. The parallel is clear enough to us, at any rate, though it gains no direct acknowledgment at *Iliad* Λ 739-741. On Agamede's practising the same profession and being "presque homonyme de Médée" see Roux, op. cit. (above, p. 15, n. 3) pp. 42; 49.

[5] However, Blumberg, op. cit. (above, p. 6, n. 2) p. 10, terms these verses (with the addition of I 228: τόσσοι ἄρ' Αἰσονίδῃ συμμήστορες ἠγερέθοντο) the Catalogue's conclusion ("Abschluss"), yet admits that the explanation contained therein has been appended ("angehängt") to the lengthy whole.

to explain how the entire complement of the Argo came to be known as Minyans (Μινύαι)—specifically because many of them, Jason himself included, were descended from Minyas of Orchomenus—these verses may be termed aetiological.[1]

Yet the Catalogue looks not only back to earlier generations, but ahead to the next as well. Named as Argonauts are the fathers of many a participant in Agamemnon's expedition against Troy. Since these relationships have already been made explicit for the most part in the *Iliad*, there is no need for Apollonius to reiterate that Iphitus II, for example, identified as Naubolus' son lest he be confused with the similarly named son of Eurytus, is also himself parent of Schedius and of Epistrophus, leaders of a contingent which set out from Phocis in forty ships. The poet can assume that his readers have already examined *Iliad* B 517-526. Nor must he repeat the information supplied at B 527ff. and at 557f., namely that Locrian Oïleus and Salaminian Telamon both begat sons named Ajax. That offspring of Meleager (Thoas) (see B 638ff.), of Heracles (Tlepolemus, also Phidippus and Antiphus) (see B 653f.; 676f.), of Iphiclus I (ill-fated Protesilaus) (see B 695ff.), of Coronus (Leonteus) (see B 738ff.), even of Pirithus (Leonteus' co-commander Polypoetes) became leaders of regional contingents likewise need not be emphasized to a readership thoroughly versed in things Homeric. Though he hints that the liaison between Jason and Hypsipyle will be productive of offspring (*Arg.* I 904ff.), Apollonius refrains from stating, as did Homer (*Iliad* H 467ff.), that their son Euneüs generously provisioned the Achaean armed forces when they reached the vicinity of Lemnos.[2]

[1] The same blanket-classification of the Argonauts was employed already by Pindar. See *P* 4,68f. Müller, loc. cit. (above, p. 30, n. 3), identifies all to whom the name might legitimately apply. "Si la généalogie des Argonautes concerne surtout la mythologie," observes Delage, op. cit. (above, p. 3, n. 3) p. 43, however, "le terme de Minyens a une valeur *géographique*" (emphasis mine: cf. the discussion above, p. 28 and n. 4). Specifically "il désigne le peuple éolien, établi en Thessalie maritime, qui fonda l'Orchoménos de Béotie mentionnée par le poète" (i.e. at III 1093-1095).

[2] Concerning the circumstances which brought Euneüs' parents together see Ch. V below. The youth himself is mentioned again at *Iliad* Ψ 746f. The frequency of ties between the Argonauts and the heroes of Homer's epics is discussed by Roux, op. cit. (above, p. 15, n. 3) pp. 15ff. See pp. 19-25 and 26-30 for Roux' observations with regard to elements of Argonautic legend to be found specifically in the *Odyssey* as well as in the works of Hesiod. Cf. K. Meuli, *Odyssee und Argonautika* (Berlin, 1921), especially the first and last chapters.

Thus of those who lead fighting men to Troy the only descendant of an Argonaut to receive express mention from Apollonius is Achilles (I 557f.; IV 802f.; 811ff.; 868ff.).[1] Other exceptions are apparent rather than real. Neither chronology nor genealogy, let alone geography, supports any identification of Homer's Sthenelus, Thoas, or Eurypylus (catalogued respectively at *Iliad* B 559ff.; 638ff.; 734ff.) with their Apollonian namesakes: the hero whose shoreside tomb is visited by the Argonauts enroute to Colchis (II 911-929), Hypsipyle's father, the only male not extirpated by the outraged women of Lemnos (I 620ff.), a son of Poseidon destined to rule eventually at Cyrene (IV 1558-1561).[2]

V

In contrast, then, to Valerius Flaccus and Apollodorus, whose own lists of Argonauts feature some heroes who appear also in the Catalogue of Ships—Nestor and Philoctetes in the one case (I 380-382 and 391-393 respectively: cf. *Iliad* B 591ff.; 716ff.),[3] Peleus and Leïtus, Ascalaphus and Ialmenus, also Euryalus in the other (I 19, 16: cf. *Iliad* B 494ff.; 511ff.; 559ff.)—Apollonius scrupulously excludes from his Argonautic roster anyone who sailed to Troy a generation after the capture of the Golden Fleece. Though the same chronological difficulty would not have arisen, he refuses to admit persons doomed to be slain subsequently in the first Argive onslaught against Thebes. Valerius, on the other hand, makes room for Tydeus (I 386f.), while Apollodorus (loc. cit.) catalogues Amphiaraus as an Argonaut, along with others of that generation (e.g. Laërtes, Actor, Poeas) for whom Apollonius made no allowance.[4]

[1] On the other hand, Achilles' close friend Patroclus, whose father Menoetius was likewise one of Apollonius' Argonauts (#12), not only is mentioned nowhere in the *Argonautica*, but fails to gain a place in the Catalogue of Ships, despite the fact that in the overall plot of the *Iliad* he plays a most significant rôle.

[2] Concerning the first two cf. below, Chs. XII and V respectively. The name, at least, of the third is employed by Callimachus in a Cyrenian context. See *H* 2, 90-92.

[3] Hyginus (14) likewise lists Philoctetes, but in place of Nestor, whose considerable seniority to Philoctetes would have made him a more likely Argonaut (cf. the discussion below), names rather his father Neleus. On Apollonius' inclusion of Periclymenus, another of Neleus' sons, see below, pp. 33 f. (including p. 33, n. 4).

[4] Save for Amphiaraus, all have sons who take part in Homer's Trojan War: respectively Diomedes, Odysseus, Echecles, Philoctetes. See above and n. 3 concerning the acceptance of the last in certain Catalogues of Argonauts other than that of Apollonius.

Neleus too is kept out of Apollonius' list, though his presence would have caused no embarrassment. In what appears to be the only deviation from the rule imposed by the poet upon himself a place among the Argonauts is granted rather to Neleus' son Periclymenus. But before taking Apollonius to task let us remember that in the *Iliad* Nestor, a better known heir of Neleus, is said to be a very old man who has watched two generations perish and now rules over a third (A 250-252).[1] And Nestor himself stresses his own association in an earlier time with a number of celebrated heroes. Some of them turn out to have been Argonauts or at least to have been invited to join Jason in his adventure. For, along with Dryas, Caeneus,[2] and Exadius, the aged ruler of Pylos names Pirithus, Polyphemus, and Theseus (262-265).[3]

Why did Apollonius pass over renowned Nestor in favor of a sibling so obscure that he appears in the *Iliad* not at all, in the *Odyssey* only long enough to be listed as one of Neleus' and Chloris' offspring (λ 285ff.) and to be categorized himself as ἀγέρωχος?[4] Why did not the Alexandrian poet do as Valerius later, whose Catalogue of Argonauts lists not only Periclymenus, but (as I have already indicated) Nestor as well?[5]

The absence of Nestor from Apollonius' Catalogue is not so easy to explain. Yet I suspect that it was this hero's very fame as a participant in the Trojan War—even if mainly as a counsellor rather than as a fighter—which discouraged his inclusion. Periclymenus,

[1] Note too that Nestor's own son Antilochus becomes a combattant at Troy. He receives frequent mention in the *Iliad* and even in the *Odyssey*, where his brief life is fondly remembered.

[2] Is this perhaps the Caeneus who fathered an Argonaut named Coronus (#9 in Apollonius' list), but whose exploits against the Centaurs overshadowed the son's prowess (*Arg.* I 57ff.)? Apollodorus catalogues Caeneus himself as an Argonaut, however, and labels him son of Coronus. If both Caeneus' son and Caeneus' father were named Coronus, Apollonius says nothing about it. Hyginus, on the other hand—but noone would consider him an unimpeachable witness—introduces into his own Argonautic roster both Coronus, son of Caeneus, and Caeneus, son of Coronus.

[3] Concerning Theseus and Pirithus see above, p. 26, n. 2.

[4] I think it rather ironic that the three brothers, Nestor, Chromius, and Periclymenus, and a sister Pero should be termed collectively ἀγλαὰ τέκνα (285). Though Pero was much wooed (288ff.), Nestor alone of the four attained any real renown. There is additional irony, of course, in the little known brother's having been assigned a name compounded of περί and a participial form of the verb κλύειν.

[5] See above, p. 32.

being in no way identified with that latter-day conflict, emerges thereby as a more eligible Argonautic recruit.[1]

VI

But another factor should be considered. For guidance in constructing his own Catalogue of Argonauts clearly Apollonius has looked to Pindar's "Argonautic Ode," the fourth Pythian. Just as Pindar omits Nestor, yet includes Nestor's brother, so Apollonius. In fact, the author of the *Argonautica* inserts into his much larger list the name of each and every of the less than a dozen heroes identified by his predecessor as a member of Jason's company:

[1] Heracles (171f.) (= Apollonius' #29)
[2-3] Polydeuces, Castor (ibid.) (= ##33-34)
[4-5] Periclymenus, Euphemus (172-175) (= ##37; 44)
[6] Orpheus (176f.) (= #1)
[7-8] Echion, Erytus (178-180) (= ##7; 6)[2]
[9-10] Zetes, Calaïs (181-183) (= ##52-53)
[11] Mopsus (189-191) (= #10)

Surely Pindar has organized his skeletal Catalogue with care. Just as surely his organizing principle is something other than geography. Periclymenus' Pylian origin receives notice, as does Euphemus' connection with Laconian Taenarum and that of Erytus and Echion with Mount Pangaeus. Whence the other heroes have come is not specified, though Pindar's original audience on the basis of knowledge acquired elsewhere would probably have been conscious of a sudden shift from the Peloponnesus to Thessaly and even more northerly regions, with no provision at all for transition via Central Greece.

Instead the fourth Pythian's author concerns himself with establishing a symmetry based on function. To Orpheus, the singer and instrumentalist sponsored by Apollo himself, is awarded the

[1] On the other hand, the fact that Aeëtes' sister Circe played a significant rôle in the *Odyssey* does not deter Apollonius from allowing her to operate no less significantly in relation to Medea and Jason in his own poem. Similarly he feels no compunction against bringing the Argonauts into the presence of a Phaeacian people already ruled by that same Alcinoüs and Arete who were to prove so hospitable to Odysseus a generation later.

[2] E. Schmid's emendation at line 179 ("Ερυτον for the unmetrical Εὔρυτον: but cf. Valerius, Apollodorus, and Hyginus), based on *Arg.* I 52, is accepted without quible by editors of the Pindaric *Epinicia*.

omphalic position, while Mopsus and Heracles, noted respectively for seercraft and for feats of strength, gain places of honor at either extreme.[1] Two pairs of matched heroes are interposed in either direction between the outer fringe and the ὀμφαλός.[2]

Combining Homeric geographical preoccupations both with Homeric and with Pindaric symmetry, Apollonius produces a Catalogue which begins and ends with men of the North, reaches its midpoint with personnel recruited from the region around Peloponnesiac Argos. Comparison of Apollonius' Catalogue with Pindar's shows Heracles and Orpheus to have exchanged places, more or less, while the remaining Peloponnesians and Northerners are redistributed, the former toward the ὀμφαλός, the latter toward the end (Zetes and Calaïs) or toward the beginning (Erytus, Echion, Mopsus).

VII

Symmetrically designed though it may be, the Apollonian Catalogue of Argonauts never lacks for variety.[3] Unhampered by the need to enumerate ships or to give every obscure community its due—such was Homer's situation—Apollonius can concentrate on the Argonauts themselves. No two—or no two groupings: sometimes pairs or trios are incorporated—receive exactly the same introduction. Heracles, for example, is first glimpsed in action, as he arrives at Argos with the newly captured and still living Erymanthian boar slung over his back (I 124ff.).[4] Others, as we have

[1] See below, Ch. IV, with respect to the contrast in temperament and outlook which brings Apollonius' Idmon, another seer, and Idas, the single-minded warrior, almost to blows.

[2] Euphemus is destined for a special rôle, however, in connection with the founding of Cyrene. See the rest of the fourth Pythian, as well as *Arg.* IV 1551f.

[3] Cf. Blumberg, op. cit. (above, p. 6, n. 2) pp. 8-11. Händel, op. cit. (above, p. 10, n. 2) p. 16, even goes so far as to find here "ein durchgängiges Gesetz in der Dichtung des Apollonios."

[4] Händel, pp. 27 and 126, rightly calls attention to the fact that, whereas Apollonius' Catalogue of Argonauts classifies other heroes in terms of biological and geographic origin (cf. the discussion above, pp. 25ff.) and, in some cases, of previously accomplished deeds, Heracles, the Panhellenic hero, learns of Jason's invitation not at home, like the others (with the exception of the Deïmachids and Phrixids picked up enroute: cf. above, p. 30, n. 1, below, Ch. XIII), but while involved still in heroic tasks. The capture of the boar was, of course, one of the Twelve Labors assigned Heracles by his malevolent kinsman Eurystheus. Certain others, carried on simultaneously with the Argonautic expedition after Heracles' separation therefrom, will be noted in the appropriate chapters below.

seen, may be integrated into a complex genealogy or compared or contrasted with some illustrious forebear.[1] If a hero has been recruited because of some special attribute or skill, such as keen vision (Lynceus), fleetness of foot (Euphemus, also Calaïs and Zetes), seercraft (Mopsus and Idmon), or helmsmanship (Tiphys, Erginus, Ancaeus II, Nauplius), this too will be indicated in the Catalogue.[2] Likewise indicated in the Catalogue is the prospect that certain heroes (Idmon, Mopsus, and Canthus) will perish enroute to or from Colchis.[3]

But I defer fuller discussion of these matters. By now it should be clear that Apollonius has constructed his listing of Argonauts not only with a view toward rendering its own internal structure coherent and symmetrical, but also with a view toward enhanced relevance to the overall epic plot.[4]

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[1] On the genealogical element in the Catalogue see the discussion above, pp. 29ff.

[2] The possibility of variety also "durch die Verschiedenheit der Motive, welche die einzelnen Helden zur Teilnahme bewegen" is recognized by Blumberg, loc. cit. (above, p. 30, n. 5). Cf. pp. 511f. of G. Kaibel's "Sententiarum liber quartus," *Hermes* XXII (1887) 497-514, where attention is directed not only to why Orpheus, Menoetius, Canthus, Tiphys, Heracles, and Iphitus II joined the expedition, but also especially to the motivation for Augeas' enlistment.

[3] Concerning the deaths of all three, as well as of Tiphys (not hinted in the Catalogue-entry tied to his name) see below, Ch. XII. Idmon's consciousness of his own imminent demise is discussed also in Ch. IV below. The deaths of Polyphemus and of the Boreads (after rather than during the expedition) are likewise forecast, but not in the Catalogue. See below, Chs. VII and XII.

[4] The Catalogue of Argonants is not the only itemization in Apollonius' poem. Most noteworthy of the others, each of which will be discussed in the appropriate chapter below, is Phineus' lengthy listing of peoples and places which Jason and his associates may expect to visit or at least sail past on their way to Colchis (II 311ff.). See below, Ch. IX.

CHAPTER FOUR

ΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΙΣ

I

Though he could have moved directly from Catalogue and Appendix to narration of the first stages of the Argo's voyage, Apollonius devotes almost three hundred verses (I 234-518) to what transpired between the coming together of the Argonauts and their actual departure aboard ship. The sequence may be thus subdivided:

[1] Laying in of supplies and procession from Iolcus to the harbor at Pagasae (234ff.)

[2] Grief of Aeson and Alcimede; Jason's response (246ff.)

[3] Progress of Jason to Pagasae and arrival of Acastus and Argus I (306ff.)

[4] Assembly to choose a leader (327ff.)

[5] Launching of the Argo and assignment of rowing positions by lot (363ff.)

[6] Sacrificial rites, Jason's appeal to Apollo, Idmon's prophecies, post-sacrificial feast (402ff.)

[7] Controversy involving Jason, Idas, Idmon (460ff.)

[8] Orpheus' first song; reaction of the Argonauts (494ff.)[1]

In devising this table I have oversimplified somewhat and have deliberately withheld acknowledgment of transitional passages interposed between larger divisions. Another observer, moreover, might have understood the organization of this part of the poem somewhat differently. All that occurs at Iolcus and at Pagasae could conceivably be considered a single episode. Yet my concern in assuming an octopartite structure was to emphasize what a diversity of incident Apollonius chose to put before his readers.

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[1] A second song is presented by Orpheus after the Argo has already set sail (569-579). Concerning both see below, Appendix A.

For purposes of discussion, however, I shall find it convenient to give individual attention to some segments (##4; 6; 7), while bringing others together (##1-3) on account of some feature which they have in common.[1]

II

That kinship might exist between the narrative of the Argonautic procession to Pagasae and that of Jason's movement toward the same destination ought to be obvious enough. What binds these two related passages to the intervening story of efforts on the part of Jason to dispel parental anxiety and grief is the repeated utilization of imagery highly relevant to its context.

The first simile (I 238-240) may be tabularized as follows:

ARGONAUTS : SPECTATORS = STARS : CLOUDS

According to the scholiast, Apollonius has not failed to underscore hereby the social distinction between the Argonauts (ἥρωες) and the plebeian masses (δημοτικοὶ ὄχλοι) past whom they march. The distinction is one which Homer appreciates. It may well be the case also that the Homeric comparison of Hector to a star which alternately shines forth and becomes obscured by clouds (*Iliad* Λ 62-65) served as a model for Apollonius.[2]

Study of both images will show both to be effective. Yet the resemblance between them is not so strong that Apollonius could be said merely to have copied what his predecessor wrote. Whereas in either instance clouds and throngs of men are deemed similar, Hector's flickering solo performance differs from the apparently steady glow supplied by the Argonauts collectively.

III

Emphasis on brightness here and elsewhere[3] is most appropriate

[1] The fact that I shall say little in this chapter about ##5 and 8 (concerning which latter see loc. cit. (above, p. 37, n.1 ad fin.) is not to be taken as an indication that I denigrate their importance.

[2] An additional comparison of flashing bronze and Zeus' lightning blasts is attached at lines 65f. With regard to resemblances between what Homer and what Apollonius wrote see also Fränkel, opp. cit. (above, respectively, p. 3, n. 1 ad fin. and p. 2, n. 1) pp. 22f. and 56 respectively.

[3] Cf. I 450ff.; 519ff.; 1229ff.; 1280ff.; II 164ff.; III 1223f.; IV 109ff.; 1170ff. T. B. L. Webster, *Hellenistic Poetry and Art* (London, 1964) pp. 70ff., having translated or paraphrased these passages (some of which are examined also by R. Heinze, *Vergils epische Technik*³ (Leipzig, 1914: repr. Darmstadt,

for a work which begins with an invocation to Apollo (ἀρχόμενος σέο, Φοῖβε)[1] and in which Apollo's human analogue turns out to be none other than Jason himself. Consider the third of the three similes now under discussion:

οἷος δ' ἐκ νηοῖο θυώδεος εἶσιν Ἀπόλλων
Δῆλον ἀν' ἠγαθέην ἠὲ Κλάρον, ἢ ὅγε Πυθώ
ἢ Λυκίην εὐρεῖαν ἐπὶ Ξάνθοιο ῥοῇσι—
τοῖος ἀνὰ πληθὺν δήμου κίεν... [I 307-310][2]

The ensuing clause, ὦρτο δ' ἀϋτή / κεκμομένων ἄμυδις (310f.), with its emphasis on sound rather than on light, would seem to be divorced from the simile-proper. Yet it serves to develop further the contrast between the lone marcher and the multitudes who witness his advance.[3]

As for the scene itself, it appears to be imitated not from anything in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*,[4] but rather from the description at the opening of a so-called "Homeric" Hymn of the response accorded by fellow gods to Apollo's progress among them:

1957) p. 369, n.1), concludes that Apollonius "saw like a painter." For additional detail concerning ways in which "poetic beauty was enhanced by a painter's eye" see E. S. Phinney, Jr., "Hellenistic Painting and the Poetic Style of Apollonius," *CJ* LXII (1966-1967) 145-149.

[1] Cited more fully above, p. 10. Note the choice of epithet. At the very outset this deity has been categorized as the essence of all that shines resplendently.

[2] With this passage in mind, Roux, op. cit. (above, p. 15, n. 3) p. 39, readily classifies Jason as "un héros apollinien" (a category to which he assigns Orpheus likewise) and even as "une sorte d'autre Apollon." "Et c'est ainsi," he adds, "que, par ces Apollons de clarté [he has in mind the epithets Ἠῷος and Αἰγλήτης, employed respectively at *Arg.* II 686 (cf. below, p. 180) and at IV 1716] Jason se trouve affecté d'un caractère certainement traditionnel et folklorique de 'héros de lumière'" (p. 40 ad fin.).

[3] Cf. the contrast between Argonauts and spectators emphasized in the first simile.

[4] Carspecken, op. cit. (above, p. 2, n. 6) p. 79, finds a parallel in the epics of Homer nonetheless. See *Od.* σ 193f., where Penelope's beauty is compared to that of Aphrodite. Even the scholiast was aware, as Carspecken does not fail to point out, that a resemblance existed between *Arg.* III 876-885 (MEDEA : ARTEMIS) and *Od.* ζ102-109 (NAUSICAA : ARTEMIS). Both Apollonian passages attract the interest of Otis, *op. cit.* (above, p. 3, n. 5) pp. 73-76, whose special concern it is to show how Virgil in his handling of similes for Dido and Aeneas "is primarily indebted to Apollonius" (specifically to similes for Medea and Jason), yet at the same time "has added many Homeric touches." See p. 73 for Otis' tricolumnar table of correspondences.

Μνήσομαι οὐδὲ λάθωμαι Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκάτοιο,
ὅν τε θεοὶ κατὰ δῶμα Διὸς τρομέουσιν ἰόντα·
καί ῥά τ' ἀναΐσσουσιν ἐπὶ σχεδὸν ἐρχομένοιο
πάντες ἀφ' ἑδράων, ὅτε φαίδιμα τόξα τιταίνει. [*HH* 3,1-4]

Apollonius has replaced these deferential deities with noisy assemblages of admiring mortals; yet the hero Jason and his divine analogue move through the crowd in much the same way. It is the impression of youthfulness given off by both, moreover, which leads the scholiast to deem Apollonius' third simile appropriate.[1]

IV

Yet by the same token, as I shall show presently, the simile whose discussion has been deferred until now may seem not only inappropriate, but also very odd. Jason's parents, Aeson and Alcimede, have become demoralized at the thought of the dangerous undertaking imposed by Pelias. The father groans (I 264); the mother loses all power of speech (262).[2] It is left to Jason to restore their morale and that of numerous grieving attendants. When finally the mother recovers from her speechlessness (278-291), there is nothing light-hearted in what she says. In tone the statement resembles that addressed by handmaidens earlier to Alcimede herself (251-259), possibly in absentia. The key-word in both instances is

[1] Cf. Clausing, *op. cit.* (above, p. 6, n. 2) pp. 43f., and Carspecken, pp. 96f., who argue that I 307ff. and I 536-539—the latter verses liken the Argonauts plying their oars to a band of youths who conduct ritual dances in honor of Apollo—were designed to be complementary. Phinney, op. cit. (above, p. 10, n. 3) p. 44, n. 44, takes issue with Carspecken's suggestion that Jason is somehow a *symbol* of Apollo. He prefers to call the Argonautic commander Apollo's "earthly counterpart," inasmuch as "the two together share the same traits of character." Concerning the parallel rôles of Hera "on the divine level" and of Medea "on the earthy level" see p. 30 and, for detailed documentation, pp. 31ff. The interrelationship between the two kinds of parallelism (in effect, JASON : APOLLO = MEDEA : HERA, or APOLLO : HERA = JASON : MEDEA) is spelled out by Phinney at the end of his first chapter. See p. 45.

[2] Μήτηρ τ' ἀμφασίηι βεβολημένη is purely conjectural, however, having been taken over by Fränkel from p. 108 (408 wrongly persists even into the corrected reprint of the new Oxford Classical Text) of H. van Herwerden's "Ad Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica," *Mn* NS XI (1883) 107-121. The codices allow only for an embrace: ἀμφ' αὐτὸν βεβολημένη. Speechlessness as a shocked reaction recurs at II 408f. (Argonautic response to Phineus' prophecies: cf. p. 162 below) and at III 284 (Medea's state upon viewing Jason for the first time). Cf. the case of the Lemniades, turned ἄφθογγοι as a consequence of fear and helplessness (I 638f.: cited below, p. 61).

the undeniably Homeric δυσάμμορος ("dogged by persistent evil fate") (employed at *Iliad* Τ 315; Χ 428; 485; Ω 727),[1] as applicable to the one parent (*Arg.* I 253) as to the other (286).[2]

Both speeches, moreover, are geared to the wish that past history could be somehow undone and cancelled out, with consequent elimination of present pain. Here too Apollonius appears to be imitating the *Iliad*—some of the same passages, in fact (Χ 426; 481).[3] And such Homeric influence will be felt not only in the handmaidens' speech to Alcimede and in Alcimede's subsequent speech to Jason, but also, as was to be expected, in the simile (I 268ff.) which intervenes between them.[4]

The more immediate model for the simile itself occurs in a different part of the *Iliad*, however. There Patroclus, so disturbed over the plight of the beleaguered Achaeans that he has begun to weep copiously, gains a sharp rebuke from his good friend Achilles:

τίπτε δεδάκρυσαι, Πατρόκλεες, ἠΰτε κούρη
νηπίη, ἥ θ' ἅμα μητρὶ θέουσ' ἀνελέσθαι ἀνώγει,
εἱανοῦ ἁπτομένη, καί τ' ἐσσυμένην κατερύκει,
δακρυόεσσα δέ μιν ποτιδέρκεται, ὄφρ' ἀνέληται·
τῇ ἴκελος, Πάτροκλε, τέρεν κατὰ δάκρυον εἴβεις. [Π 7-11]

To compare a warrior with a snivelling little girl is surely bizarre. Yet the comparison makes sense. For like the child who gains her objective by making a nuisance of herself, Patroclus will constrain Achilles to act against his own better judgment: the latter allows his ill-fated comrade to lead a troop of Myrmidons into the field to ward off Trojan attackers.

The image of the little girl recurs in Apollonius' imitation. But grafted thereto is reminiscence of the Homeric Andromache's lamen-

[1] I have appropriated the translation from R. J. Cunliffe's *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect* (London etc., 1924) s.v., where the alternative (less effective, in my opinion) "most miserable" is also suggested. With the latter cf. H. Ebeling's "infelix" (*Lexicon Homericum* (Leipzig, 1885: repr. Hildesheim, 1963)) s.v. Ebeling similarly interprets δύσμορος and δύστηνος (adding "miser" in the latter instance). Cf. below, p. 42, n. 1, concerning a particular occurrence of both terms.

[2] Cf. Polyxo's and Phineus' application of the term to themselves (I 685 and II 218 respectively) and the discussions below, Chs. V and IX. Concerning other δυσάμμοροι see the Homeric passages listed above, the last two of which are quoted in full below, p. 42.

[3] Consider too Euripides, *Med.* 1ff. (cited above, p. 10 ad init.).

[4] I withhold citation until p. 42 below.

tations over the likely future of her now fatherless son Astyanax. Twice Andromache addresses slain Hector thus, first in absentia,

νῦν δὲ σὺ μὲν 'Αΐδαο δόμους ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης
ἔρχεαι, αὐτὰρ ἐμὲ στυγερῶι ἐνὶ πένθεϊ λείπεις
χήρην ἐν μεγάροισι· πάϊς δ' ἔτι νήπιος αὔτως,
ὃν τέκομεν σύ τ' ἐγώ τε δυσάμμοροι· οὔτε σὺ τούτωι
ἔσσεαι, Ἕκτορ, ὄνειαρ, ἐπεὶ θάνες, οὔτε σοι οὗτος.
[X 482-486][1]

again while taking part in the funeral ceremony:

ἆνερ, ἀπ' αἰῶνος νέος ὤλεο, κὰδ δέ με χήρην
λείπεις ἐν μεγάροισι· πάϊς δ' ἔτι νήπιος αὔτως,
ὃν τέκομεν σύ τ' ἐγώ τε δυσάμμοροι, οὐδέ μιν οἴω
ἥβην ἵξεσθαι... [Ω 725-728][2]

Thus fortified with Homeric background we are perhaps in a better position to understand and appreciate what Apollonius has attempted to do in verses which paradoxically compare Jason's aged mother with a female orphan, Jason himself with the orphan's sole comforter, her white-haired nurse:

μήτηρ δ' ὡς τὰ πρῶτ' ἐπεχεύατο πήχεε παιδί,
ὧς ἔχετο κλαίουσ' ἀδινώτερον, ἠΰτε κούρη[3]
οἰόθεν ἀσπασίως πολιὴν τροφὸν ἀμφιπεσοῦσα
μύρεται, ἧι οὔκ εἰσιν ἔτ' ἄλλοι κηδεμονῆες,
ἀλλ' ὑπὸ μητρυιῆι βίοτον βαρὺν ἡγηλάζει·
καί ἑ νέον πολέεσσιν ὀνείδεσιν ἐστυφέλιξεν,[4]
τῆι δέ τ' ὀδυρομένηι δέδεται κέαρ ἔνδοθεν ἄτηι,
οὐδ' ἔχει ἐκφλύξαι τόσσον γόον ὅσσον ὀρεχθεῖ—
ὧς ἀδινὸν κλαίεσκεν ἑὸν πάϊν ἀγκὰς ἔχουσα
'Αλκιμέδη... [I 268-277]

If there was any doubt that YOUNG JASON: OLD ALCIMEDE = OLD NURSE: YOUNG GIRL, consideration of the embraces described in the two divisions of the simile ought to dispel it. The scholiast, who applauded Apollonius for having brought *young* Jason and *young* Apollo together in a single image,[1] is no less ready to champion the present chiastic set of analogies:

ἀκαταλλήλως τὴν παραβολὴν τέθεικεν· ὑποτίθεται γὰρ γραῦν μὲν τὸν 'Ιάσονα, κόρην δὲ τὴν μητέρα. ἔδει δέ, φασί, κατὰ τὸ ἐναντίον ταῦτα τάξαι. ἀλλ' ἐροῦμεν, ὅτι προσφόρως ὑπόκειται ὁ 'Ιάσων οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν γηροκομίαν τῆς μητρός—καὶ γὰρ ἡ γραῦς τὴν κόρην ἀνατρέφει—ὡς ἡ μήτηρ πρός τε τὸ ἀφερέπονον διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν—καὶ γὰρ τὸ γῆρας καὶ ἡ βραχεῖα ἡλικία παρεοίκασι—καί πρὸς τὸ χρήιζειν τῆς τρεφούσης.

In my opinion the scholiast has chosen his terms well. He realizes that Apollonius sought deliberately to stress the incongruity and paradoxicality of the situation. The adage (as applicable to physiology and psychology as to politics) expressed in a later time as "les extrêmes se touchent" seems not to have escaped the scholiast either. Thus he has no difficulty in understanding how completely the tables have turned: old age has made Alcimede so helpless and dependent that she who once nurtured Jason must now rely on *him* for nurture.[2]

V

Apart from the information that their having left Iolcus constituted defiance of Pelias' will,[3] the most interesting feature of the verses concerning the arrival of Acastus and Argus I at Pagasae is a brief description of the outer garments which the two heroes wore:

δέρμα δ' ὁ μὲν ταύροιο ποδηνεκὲς ἀμφέχετ' ὤμους
Ἄργος 'Αρεστορίδης λάχνηι μέλαν, αὐτὰρ ὁ καλήν
δίπλακα, τήν οἱ ὄπασσε κασιγνήτη Πελόπεια. [324-326]

[1] In the opening verses of the speech, only part of which is cited here, the heroïne calls her father δύσμορος (481), herself αἰνόμορος (ibid.) and δύστηνος (477). Euripides' Medea applies the last term to herself at line 1032 of the tragedy named for her.

[2] Note that in quoting from both speeches I have emphasized what appear to be iterated groupings of formulae.

[3] The emphasized combination appears in exactly the same metrical position as it did at *Iliad* II 7 (cited above, p.41).

[4] Concerning the emphasized words see p. 43, n. 2 below.

[1] Cf. above, p. 40.

[2] Phinney too, op. cit. (above, p. 10, n. 3) p. 99, likewise appreciates the simile's appropriateness. Perhaps the scholiast has gone too far in arguing in addition that the stepmother whose actions are mentioned at lines 270ff. functions as the analogue of Pelias. I suspect that the behavior of the μητρυιή has more in common with that of the nasty little boy who chases his fatherless contemporary away from a banquet with taunts and gibes. Note the deliberate verbal echoing: ὀνείδεσιν ἐστυφέλιξεν (I 273) from Homer's ἐστυφέλιξε / ...ὀνειδείοισιν ἐνίσσων (*Iliad* X 496f.). The Homeric verses in question are included in a long speech of Andromache, an earlier portion of which will be found cited above, p. 42.

[3] Cf. above, p. 28, n. 2.

This passage proves significant in less as well as in more obvious ways. Immediate linkage with the next scene, that which has to do with selecting a leader for the expedition,[1] is made quite clear in the poet's statement that Jason refrained from detailed questioning of the newcomers, but called an assembly instead (327f.). I think it not overbold to suggest that the distinction between the hide thrown over Argus' shoulders and the fine cloak worn by Acastus underlines a personality contrast not so much between these two youths themselves—actually we learn little about the personal characteristics of either—but rather between the two who will be most prominent in the ensuing narrative: Jason himself (Acastus' cousin, be it noted) and Heracles. As it happens, the latter, whose simple and direct approach to diverse problems gains him great admiration, regularly appears wearing a lionskin and with a cudgel ready at hand.[2] Jason, the practitioner of gentle persuasion, will don a more civilized garment, the δίπλαξ πορφυρέη awarded him by Athena, when he sets forth on his mission to the Lemnian capital even as Heracles remains disapprovingly behind aboard the Argo.[3]

VI

Contrast between Jason and Heracles is established already in the narrative of the assembly convoked by the latter. Whereas Heracles' normal practice is to be as self-reliant as possible, Jason in his initial speech makes clear that the Argonautic expedition is to be very much a cooperative venture:

...ξυνὸς γὰρ ἐς Ἑλλάδα νόστος ὀπίσσω,
ξυναὶ δ' ἄμμι πέλονται ἐς Αἰήταο κέλευθοι [I 336f.][4]

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[1] See below.

[2] The same is true particularly in pictorial representations: e.g. the famous statue at the Vatican Museum.

[3] See Ch. V below for discussion of events at Lemnos. Concerning Jason's δίπλαξ; described in great detail (unlike the similarly named outerwear of Acastus), see below, ibid., as well as the more expansive treatment in a separate article (entitled simply "Δίπλαξ, πορφυρέη": see *RFIC* xcviii (1970) 17-36). A somewhat different explanation of the contrast between Argus' and Acastus' apparel is offered by Roux, op. cit. (above, p. 15, n. 3) p. 101, who suspects that the bullhide worn by the former "a un caractère sacré qui s'oppose bien, dans le texte d'Apollonios, au manteau royal de son compagnon." See p. 103 for further suggestions regarding the significance of Argus' bullhide.

[4] Cf. III 173f.:

ξυνὴ γὰρ χρειώ, ξυνοὶ δέ τε μῦθοι ἔασιν
πᾶσιν ὁμῶς...

Yet at the same time he recognizes the necessity for individual leadership. "Choose the best man" (τὸν ἄριστον...ἕλεσθε) (338), he advises.

How deferential can one safely be? How "democratic" even? We should have expected Jason, the very person charged with responsibility for capturing the Golden Fleece, to take command simply as a matter of course.

If his allowing the choice of leader to be determined by suffrage comes as a surprise, the result of the balloting itself proves even more surprising. Once Jason has finished speaking, all eyes turn toward Heracles. Unanimously the balloters acclaim the latter as their commander.[1]

In view of Heracles' size, strength, and Panhellenic fame, the decision is readily understandable nonetheless. The other Argonauts—Jason not excluded—seem puny by comparison. Later, when he becomes disjoined from them, all will bitterly rue the loss.[2]

But the oversized hero refuses to accept the outcome of the election. Without mentioning any names he nevertheless redirects the attention of the others to the individual who recruited them:

αὐτὸς ὅτις ξυνάγειρε καί ἀρχεύοι ὁμάδοιο. [347]

Concerning the necessity for coöperation see also below, pp. 56ff. Whether or not Carspecken, op. cit. (above, p. 2, n. 6) pp. 41 and 110f., is right in viewing the Argonauts as a collective protagonist—Phinney, op. cit. (above, p. 10, n. 3) p. 77, disagrees (he sees them rather as a "chorus": cf. above, p. 29, n. 4), as does G. Lawall (see the first page of his "Apollonius' *Argonautica*: Jason as Anti-Hero," *YCS* XIX (1966) 121-169)—it has become customary to refer to the Apollonian Jason as "first among equals" (*primus inter pares*). See (in chronological sequence) A. Weichert, *Über das Leben und Gedicht des Apollonios von Rhodos* (Meissen, 1821) pp. 338; 346; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Hellenistische Dichtung* (Berlin, 1924: repr. 1962) II 215; Faerber, op. cit. (above, p. 3, n. 1) p. 100; M. Hadas, p. 44 of "Apollonius Called the Rhodian," *CW* XXVI (1932-1933) 41-46; 49-54; Carspecken, pp. 110 and 111; H. Fränkel, p. 13 of "Ein Don Quijote unter den Argonauten des Apollonios," *MH* XVII (1960) 1-20, also op. cit. (above, p. 2, n. 1) p. 243 ad fin.

[1] Possibly Apollonius is drawing on a tradition known to Nicander (fr. 48 Schn. = Antoninus Liberalis 26), according to which Heracles rather than Jason actually served as leader of the expedition at least until the time of the landing at Colchis. In Apollonius' poem, however, Heracles is destined neither to accept the captaincy nor to remain very long in the Argonauts' midst. See below and Ch. VII.

[2] Cf. especially Chs. VII-VIII below. Telamon will even become so rash as to accuse Jason of having deliberately left Heracles behind in order to cease from being overshadowed (I 1290ff.: cf. below, p. 112, n. 2).

The company heed Heracles' advice. Jason himself is jubilant (γηθόσυνος) (350). Ought he to have been so, however? He has been authorized to lead not through any expressed preference of his comrades, but only because Heracles has willed it. Heracles himself, by contrast, has twice demonstrated superiority:

[1] He has been elected by acclamation.

[2] He has dictated his own substitute choice.

Side by side with him who, paradoxically, even in refusing to take command commands nonetheless,[1] Jason, only a short time before likened to the god Apollo,[2] now cuts a rather unimposing figure.

VII

Ought Jason to have avoided, then, this abortive experiment in democracy? Ought he to have assumed the functions and prerogatives of leadership without asking others' permission? Someone else might have done so, not Jason. Forcefulness and assertiveness are alien to his nature. Essentially, as will be made quite clear in the course of the expedition, he is a diplomat rather than an exerter of pressure. Hence persuasion proves a more effective instrument for gaining his goals than military weaponry or bare fists.[3] And yet, by taking upon himself first any exertion which he demands of others Jason makes his appeal all the more persuasive. Such was the case, for example, when he urged the Argonauts to prepare sacrifices to Apollo and to ready the ship for launching:

> ἦ ῥα, καὶ εἰς ἔργον πρῶτος τράπεθ'. οἱ δ' ἐπανέσταν
> πειθόμενοι... [I 363f.]

Perhaps too the poet has framed this passage as he has in order to demonstrate that the familiar opposition between λόγος and ἔργον has been kept to a minimum. It was minimized already in the

[1] Cf. Fränkel, op. cit. (above, p. 2, n. 1) p. 69, n. 114. Heracles imposes his will once again when he constrains the Argonauts to quit their dalliance at Lemnos. See below, p. 79, n. 1, also p. 83, n. 4.

[2] See I 307ff., cited above, p. 39.

[3] See particularly my comments on his mission to the Lemnian capital (Ch. V. below). He has already exercised diplomacy in addressing to his mother ἔπεα which happen also to be μειλίχια (I 293f.). Concerning the comparable approach of Argus II see above, p. 21 and n. 2. Discussion of a glaring exception to this rule, the assassination of Apsyrtus at Jason's hands with the connivance of Medea, will be attempted in my study of *Arg*. III-IV.

Homeric Phoenix' description of himself as one expected to be "a speaker of words and a doer of deeds" (μύθων τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων) (*Iliad* I443).[1] That Heracles plays mostly the latter rôle will be illustrated often enough in Apollonius' *Argonautica*.[2]

Yet I remain intrigued by a colleague's explanation of why it is so essential that Heracles be dissociated from the expedition and that Jason serve as commander. Instead of merely iterating the categorization of the former as "an intruder into the Argonautic story,"[3] G. Lawall observes, taking note of a dichotomy even more basic than that of word and deed, that art or skill (τέχνη) rather than brute force (βία or—to use the Epic form—βίη) must be utilized in the winning of the Golden Fleece, as in all phases of the expedition itself.[4]

VIII

"Skill only reaches a certain distance," Lawall concedes nonetheless; "for ultimate survival and achievement man must enlist the aid of superhuman forces: the gods."[5] This will certainly be shown true on the occasion of the transit of the Symplegades (II 537ff.). Without divine intervention not even Tiphys' remarkable helmsmanship would have sufficed to keep the Argonauts safe and whole.[6] Moreover, though he manifests no awareness of it, the helmsman himself is fated to perish soon afterward (853ff.).[7]

A fellow τεχνίτης, Idmon the seer, can at least peer into the future. But this ability can save neither him nor his successor Mopsus from

[1] Again and again we learn too that this or that leading figure of the Trojan War has proved himself equally adept in council and on the battlefield. In fact, Nestor is ready so to characterize two such radically opposed personalities as Achilles and Agamemnon:

> ...περὶ μὲν βουλὴν Δαναῶν, περὶ δ' ἐστὲ μάχεσθαι. [A 258]

[2] Two deviations from this Heraclean norm have already been signalled. See above, p. 46 and n. 1. When Heracles is performing in his usual fashion (i.e. entirely on his own), speech becomes superfluous.

[3] So H. J. Rose. See p. 414 of his article s.v. "Heracles," *OCD* pp. 413f.

[4] Op. cit. (above, p. 44, n. 4), especially pp. 124-136. Dramatic exemplification of the latter dichotomy may be witnessed in Polydeuces' boxing-match with Amycus. See Ch. VIII below.

[5] In quoting I have restored the opening phrase as it appeared in the original typescript of Pt. I of Lawall's article. The author very kindly made a copy available to me before it was submitted for publication.

[6] For detailed discussion of the episode see Ch. X below.

[7] Cf. below, Ch. XII, also above, p. 36 and n. 3.

fulfilling the terrible destiny which fate has decreed for them both.[1] Addressing the assembled Argonauts even before the expedition's start, Idmon combines—or rather contrasts—with prediction of hard won ultimate success

> ὑμῖν μὲν δὴ μοῖρα θεῶν χρειώ τε περῆσαι
> ἐνθάδε κῶας ἄγοντας, ἀπειρέσιοι δ' ἐνὶ μέσσωι
> κεῖσέ τε δεῦρό τ' ἔασιν ἀνερχομένοισιν ἄεθλοι. [I 440-442]

the chilling announcement that he himself is doomed to lose his life enroute:

> αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ θανέειν στυγερῆι ὑπὸ δαίμονος αἴσηι
> τηλόθι που πέπρωται ἐπ' Ἀσίδος ἠπείροιο. [443f.]

His audience simultaneously rejoice and grieve. Idmon has not told the whole story, however. For his situation turns out to be something more than a variation on the theme, "Physician, heal thyself." Actually Idmon's foreknowledge allowed him, as becomes clear from restudy of the entry under his name in the Catalogue of Argonauts (I 139ff.), the option of avoiding involvement in a chain of circumstances which must lead irresistibly to his quick demise. In effect he had been afforded a difficult choice of alternatives:

[1] Join the Argonauts and gain renown, but die in the course of the expedition.

[2] Stay at home and disappoint the expectation of bringing glory to the Aeolids.

Comparable choices will be set before Achilles at the time of the Trojan War. Both heroes creditably choose a short but glorious life in preference to a lengthy existence without honor or acclaim.[2]

IX

After the initial shock of Idmon's prediction has abated a mood of unalloyed cheerfulness gradually reasserts itself. Night comes on

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[1] Cf. locc. citt. (above, p. 47, n. 7).

[2] Closer scrutiny of the relevant Homeric and Apollonian passages (*Iliad* I 410-416; *Arg.* I 139-141; 445-447) would show, however, that the two situations are not quite so similar as one might have been led to believe. Achilles desires glory for its own sake; Idmon, if I have interpreted his attitude correctly, acts not so much out of personal predilection as out of anxiety lest he disappoint the high expectations of his fellow Argives.

(I 450ff.), and the Argonauts, having eaten and drunk well, prepare to go to sleep. Under the influence of food and wine much light-hearted banter is exchanged (457ff.).

Jason alone fails to partake of the festive spirit.[1] Conscious, no doubt, of the heavy responsibilities which he as leader must face, conscious apparently also of his own inadequacy to cope with an undertaking which seems to demand capabilities far beyond those of any mortal, he sits by himself and broods with downcast spirit:

> ἔνθ' αὖτ' Αἰσονίδης μὲν ἀμήχανος εἰν ἑοῖ αὐτῶι
> πορφύρεσκεν ἕκαστα, κατηφιόωντι ἐοικώς. [460f.][2]

At this point young Idas, described in the Catalogue already as ὑπέρβιος (I 151),[3] chides Jason in the hope of jarring him into a happier frame of mind. His speech is delivered in a loud voice (μεγάληι ὀπί) (462); hence everyone hears it, not Jason alone. Furthermore Idas has been drinking heavily. After having spoken he gulps down yet another draught of wine, staining his lips and beard in the process (472f.).

Even as the Argonauts raise a clamor (474f.), the seer Idmon, incensed both with the content and with the manner of Idas' utter-

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[1] Apparently even Idmon has joined in the merriment. At least there occurs no statement of his having abstained.

[2] Could it be too that Jason recalls only the bad news conveyed by Idmon and has forgotten Idmon's favorable prognostication regarding the expedition itself? Due account of the Argonautic leader's malaise is taken by M. Hadas, loc. cit. (above, p. 44, n. 4). Cf. "The Tradition of a Feeble Jason," *CP* XXXI (1936) 166-168. See especially p. 166, n. 3 of the latter article for listing of several passages in which ἀμήχανος, Apollonius' "favorite epithet" for Jason, reappears. Unfortunately Hadas has directed his attention to a segment only of the whole picture. My own investigation shows that helplessness, expressed not only through the adjective, but also through the related noun ἀμηχανίη and participle ἀμηχανέων, is imputed to the Argonauts as a group, with or without express mention of Jason (I 638f.; 1053f.; II 408-410; 858-863; III 502-504; IV 84f.; 1308f.; 1695-1701), more often than to Jason alone (in addition to the passage cited above see I 1286-1289; II 885; III 422-426; 432; IV 1318.). Nor are such stalwarts as Peleus and Ancaeus II exempt from individual manifestations of ἀμηχανίη. See IV 880 and 1259-1262 respectively. Even Circe (IV 691f.) and Medea herself (III 772; 951f.; 1157; IV 106-108; 1049) fall prey to it—or to what amounts to the same thing; absence of μῆχος (IV 85). Another victim is Argus II (II 1140: see p. 209 and n. 2 below). Some examples of the connection between helplessness and speechlessness are considered above, p. 40 and n. 2.

[3] The expression μεγάληι περιθαρσέες ἀλκῆι (152) is applied both to Idas and to his brother Lynceus. Concerning the keensightedness of the latter cf. above, p. 36.

ance, delivers a stinging rebuke (476-484). Idas greets Idmon's remarks first with laughter (485), then with threats (486-491).

This exchange might have degenerated into an ugly brawl, had not the Argonauts intervened noisily en masse (492f.). Even Jason, awakened apparently from his ἀμηχανίη, endeavors to restrain the two heroes (494). Fortunately the quarrel terminates as soon as Orpheus takes up his lyre and begins to sing (494ff.).[1]

X

Other quarrels will arise during the expedition, of course. In view of all the stress to which the Argonauts are subjected this is quite understandable. Each verbal wrangle nonetheless deserves individual analysis. Hence I shall look more closely now at the actual statements of Idmon and Idas.

The latter's first speech, that addressed to Jason, begins as a sort of "pep-talk,"[2] combining criticism and encouragement,

> Αἰσονίδη, τίνα τήνδε μετὰ φρεσὶ μῆτιν ἑλίσσεις;
> αὖδα ἐνὶ μέσσοισι τεὸν νόον. ἦέ σε δαμνᾷ
> τάρβος ἐπιπλόμενον, τό τ' ἀνάλκιδας ἄνδρας ἀτύζει; [I 463-465]

but quickly takes an unexpected turn. For it is one thing to say "Take heart: you may rely on my trusty spear." So far the youth's enthusiasm has carried him only to the verge of boastfulness.[3] It is something else again to become so overconfident as to acknowledge no longer any sort of dependence on the gods. Yet Idas does so in the remainder of his first speech. In fact, he goes so far as to claim that he could triumph even over divine opposition:

> ...οὐδέ μ' ὀφέλλει
> Ζεὺς τόσον ὁσσάτιόν περ ἐμὸν δόρυ, μή νύ τι πῆμα
> λοίγιον ἔσσεσθαι μηδ' ἀκράαντον ἄεθλον
> Ἴδεω γ' ἑσπομένοιο, καὶ εἰ θεὸς ἀντιόῳτο. [467-470]

[1] Song #1, tbat is. Cf. above, pp. 37f. and and below, Appendix A.

[2] Jason himself employed similar techniques not so long before this to dispel his mother's agitation. See I 295ff. Concerning the mental state of Alcimede and Jason's efforts to alter it see the discussion above, pp. 40ff.

[3] Perhaps it would be helpful here to quote Idas' exact words:

> ἴστω νῦν δόρυ θοῦρον, ὅτωι περιώσιον ἄλλων
> κῦδος ἐνὶ πτολέμοισιν ἀείρομαι... [466f.]

"In me," he adds, "you bring along that kind of *helper* from Arene" (τοῖόν μ' Ἀρήνηθεν ἀοσσητῆρα κομίζεις) (471).[1]

Impious? Hybristic? So the scholiast thought,[2] as does G. Lawall also. The latter's characterization of Idas as a braggart soldier deserves to be cited in fuller context, along with contrasting remarks about Idas' fellow Argonaut and sometime antagonist:

> The roles of Idas, the warrior, and Idmon, the seer, cross several times in the course of the epic, and they must be treated together. Idas is a *miles gloriosus* with supreme confidence in his own spear, and he is used in scenes which point up the essential impiety of all warriors—men who depend solely on their own human strength and valor. Idmon, on the other hand, believes in a moral order in which excessive presumption is punished, and his life and death are proof of the existence of divinities who sanction and protect this moral order. Conflict between such men as these is inevitable, and Apollonius' handling of this conflict reveals much about his view of human powers and limitations and about his conception of the world within which man acts.[3]

What is this conception? Lawall does not attempt to define it in his next paragraph. Yet the preoccupation of Apollonius with ἀμηχανίη[4] affords a clue. Without divine aid, the poet seems to be saying, man is helpless; pitted against the gods man not only is helpless, but inevitably doomed to crushing defeat as well. Such being the case, Idmon with good reason argues that Idas has chosen to raise Jason's spirits in a very mistaken way and has voiced nothing but utter folly (479f.).

Still, the admonition to guard against suffering the same discomfiture as Otus and Ephialtes, mightier by far than he, whose plot to storm Olympus ended in their own divinely instituted destruction (481-484), does not deter Idas from scoffing as he opens his second speech (487ff.), addressed this time to Idmon himself rather than to Jason. In so doing he only makes matters worse; for now he begins to bluster:

[1] Roux, op. cit. (above, p. 15, n. 3) p. 183, however, interprets the emphasized term (employed in the *Iliad* and elsewhere as an epithet of Apollo) rather as "protecteur."

[2] Citing a pair of verses, the one a declaration by the Cyclops (οὐδ' ἂν ἐγὼ Διὸς ἔχθος ἀλευάμενος πεφιδοίμην) (*Od.* ι 277: cf. lines 115 and 275f., discussed ahove, p. 15, n. 3), the other a reference on Phoenix' part to Idas himself (...καί ῥα ἄνακτος ἐναντίον εἵλετο τόξον) (*Iliad* I 559), he observes that even Homer considered Idas to have been ἀσεβής.

[3] Op. cit. (above, p. 44, n. 4) pp. 139f.

[4] Cf. p. 49, n. 2 above.

φράζεο δ' ὅππως χεῖρας ἐμὰς σόος ἐξαλέαιο,
χρειὼ θεσπίζων μεταμώνιον εἴ κεν ἁλώῃς. [490f.]

It is at this point that the Argonauts intervene to forestall physical violence.[1]

XI

Together Idas and Idmon will engage our attention once again at a much later stage of the Argonautic venture. Lawall, for one, is struck by the irony of the fact that Idmon's death—whose imminence was known to the seer himself (I 443f.),[2] yet whose occasion, goaring by a wild boar (II 818ff.), could not have been predicted—should be avenged by none other than Idas armed with his customary weapon (830f.).[3] But the deeper significance of this incident does not escape Lawall's notice. I think it not amiss to quote him once more in extenso:

> Idmon is not mentioned again until his death in Book 2; his role in the poem is limited to a single theme-proof of the gods' existence.[4] Cause and time of death are unknown beforehand, for prophecy is always incomplete. Idmon meets an unexpected death from a boar's tusk. He dies, fulfilling his own prophecy, and his death stands as proof both of his integrity and honesty and of the truth of prophecy. The prophesied death is also a refutation of the purely human, earthly view of life which Idas upheld in the quarrel. It is ironic that Idas should be the one to "avenge" Idmon's death by slaying the boar, and it is significant that this warrior, who claimed that no harm would come to the expedition with him present, even if god should oppose it, is too late to save Idmon from his fated death. Most important, Idas' contempt for gods and seers should be (but is not) undermined by Idmon's death, which demonstrates so eloquently the existence of a fatal power beyond man's control.[5]

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1 Cf. above, p. 50.
2 Cited above, p. 48.
3 See also Ch. XII below.
4 In place of "existence" Lawall ought to have written "power to affect human affairs" or something comparable. For it seems to me that Apollonius' Idas is not an utter atheist, but a disbeliever in the efficacy of divine intervention. Concerning what I take to be a very similar attitude on the part of the Etruscan leader Mezentius, whom Virgil characterizes as *contemptor diuom* (Aen. VII 648; VIII 7), see J. Henry's Aeneidea (London, 1873-1892) *ad loc.* (sc. the latter of the two passages in question). See also F. A. Sullivan, S.J., "Virgil's Mezentius," *Classical Essays Presented to James Kleist. S.J.* (St. Louis, 1946) pp. 93-112 and nn. (pp. 118-120); Heinze, op. cit. above, p. 38, n. 3) pp. 213f. and nn.; Fränkel, op. cit. (above, p. 44, n. 4) p. 20 and n. 23.
5 Op. cit. (above, p. 44, n. 4) pp. 141f.

In the paragraph which I cited earlier Lawall classified Idas as "the warrior," Idmon as "the seer."[1] He is on the right track, I think, in suggesting that their difference in outlook may be as much a matter of profession as of personality. That both individuals are courageous there can be no doubt. Yet their courage is manifested in quite different ways. Idmon, whose very name corresponds appropriately to his chosen career,[2] proves his mettle by joining the Argonauts in the first place, despite foreknowledge that this action will hasten his doom.[3] The valor of Idas, on the other hand, is that more familiar type exhibited in military engagements.

Yet Idas appears to have overstepped the bounds—to have committed ὕβρις, that is.[4] Aristotle would have employed still other terminology and pointed out that this belligerent youth was imbued not with courage (ἀνδρεία), a virtue consisting in the mean between diametrically opposed extremes, but rather with one of the extremes itself, specifically rashness (θρασύτης), whose resemblance to the virtue from which it diverges is great enough to cause confusion among the unwary.[5]

XII

Consider a paradox. It could be argued that Idmon's moral uprightness ensured his fulfilling the more lethal of the alternative fates assigned him. Such was his nature that in the end he could not possibly choose to cling to safety by foregoing the Argonautic expedition.[6] Idas, on the other hand, though no seer, is nevertheless

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1 See above, p. 51.
2 In the *Greek-English Lexicon* of H. G. Liddell and R. Scott (new ed. under the supervision of H. Stuart Jones, Oxford, 1925-1940) (henceforth to be designated simply as LSJ) the adjective ἴδμων is translated "having knowledge of." Cf. the noun ἰδμοσύνη, understood as "knowledge" or "skill" by the same lexicographers, who are well aware of the kinship of both words to the adjective ἴδρις and to the verb εἰδέναι.
3 Cf. the discussion above, pp. 47f.
4 Cf. the remarks of Lawall cited above, p. 51.
5 At *EN* B 8.1108^b 30-1109^a 10 a generalized discussion of just this sort actually occurs.
6 Cf. above, p. 48. In suggesting a possible contrast of motives between Idmon and Achilles (see p. 48, n. 2 above) I ought to have indicated that the former's concern for what his fellow Argives thought or felt has its counterpart in the behavior of Achilles' adversary Hector. Out of a sense of responsibility toward his comrades Hector returns to the war, despite the urgings of Andromache that he remain at home and despite his own suspicions (intuitive purely, not the sure foreknowledge of the professional: concerning his and a seer's difference of outlook see below, p. 54, n. 2) that he is doomed.

proved right in rejecting any suggestion that his attitude would merit him such a doom as had been visited upon Otus and Ephialtes, Aloeus' hybristic sons.[1] Never will the Olympians strike him down—at least not in Apollonius' *Argonautica*, though Theocritus narrates just that turn of events:

> ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ἐπάμυνε, χερῶν δέ οἱ ἔκβαλε τυκτὴν
> μάρμαρον, αὐτὸν δὲ φλογέωι συνέφλεξε κεραυνῶι. [22,210f.]

Has the Theocritean Idas been punished for impiety? Not at all.[2] Zeus intervened to prevent the young hero from taking vengeance on Castor for the murder of his brother Lynceus.[3]

How curious, then, that Theocritus should supply the punishment without having cited any real motive, whereas Apollonius has indicated the motive, but omitted the punishment![4] Or should we contend that in the *Argonautica* retribution comes to Idas in a more subtle fashion? At a council held after the arrival in Colchis deceased Idmon's erstwhile antagonist criticizes proposals voiced by Argus II

[1] See *Arg.* I 481ff. and 487ff., briefly discussed above, p. 51.

[2] Though Hector, *qua* warrior, responds to the recommendations of the seer Polydamas rather curtly,

> εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης. [*Iliad* M 243]

(on the tendency of warriors and seers to disagree see above, pp. 51f), not even his probably shocked interlocutor calls him impious. And Zeus emphasizes the opposite quality when he expresses a desire (idle, of course) to rescue from imminent death the hero who has honored him with many a sacrifice (X 168ff.)

[3] Concerning the brother's special capabilities (lauded by Apollonius: see above, p. 36) I shall say more in Vol. II. Obviously those authors who tell of conflict between the Apharetidae and the Dioscuri—the cause was the intention of both sets of youths to wed the same pair of maidens—seem to assume that it arose after the return from Colchis.

[4] Curiosity regarding Theocritus' treatment of the story has pricked A. S. F. Gow, for one. See both his "The Twenty-Second Idyll of Theocritus," *CR* LVI (1942) 11-18, and his second annotated edition of Theocritus' works (Cambridge, 1952), especially II 383-385; 403. In "Castor's Duel with Lynceus" (presented at a meeting of The Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Southern Section, Nashville, Tennessee, November 8, 1968) I explore the problem of how in a composition supposedly designed to glorify the Dioscuri Theocritus could have chosen to represent Polydeuces, on the one hand, as the righteous vanquisher of ogre-like Amycus (concerning both figures see Ch. VIII below). Castor, on the other, as the perpetrator, along with Polydeuces himself, of several reprehensible acts culminating in the brutal dispatch of his unoffending cousins Lynceus (whom Castor himself slays) and Idas (struck down by Zeus acting, so to speak, as Castor's confederate).

and by Mopsus (III 523-539 and 545-554 respectively) and urges his companions to rely on warlike prowess rather than on Medea's aid if they hope to win the Golden Fleece (558-563).[1] This advice is politely applauded, but fails of actual acceptance. For the Argonauts, gently manoeuvered by Jason himself (568-571), incline rather to follow the plans already laid down by those whom Idas has rebuked.

It is ironic too that the climax to a series of frustrations or embarrassments imposed upon the hero who preferred to swear by his spear rather than by the gods and who wished to avoid dependence on women should come in a weapons-test.[2] His own equipment proves inferior to Jason's shield, spear, and sword, magically annointed as they are with a fluid supplied by Medea (III 1246ff.). The rest of the Argonauts rejoice in this demonstration that supernatural forces may be enlisted in their behalf (1254f.). From Idas, enraged at this ultimate discomfiture, nothing more is to be heard henceforth.[3]

XIII

Is there something quixotic about Idas' entire performance? Hermann Fränkel suspects so. He has even written an article called "Ein Don Quijote unter den Argonauten des Apollonios."[4]

This title, arresting though it may be, turns out at the same time to be somewhat misleading. Once Fränkel has shown that what Apollonius' frustrated warrior and Cervantes' "Knight of the Sorrowful Countenance" have in common is adherence to obsolete ideals,[5] he devotes most of his attention rather to Idas' playing foil not so much to Idmon (whom he mentions but little) as to Jason.[6]

[1] Cf. below, pp. 207 (with n. 2); 215. Why was Idas' voice not heard at the time of the Lemnian dalliance? The rôle of reprover and admonisher had to be taken up by Heracles. See above, p. 46, n. 1, below, Ch. V.

[2] Lawall's observations on the subject, op. cit. (above, p. 44, n. 4) pp. 142f., ought to be consulted.

[3] Presumably he continues as an Argonaut. But never again will he emerge from the ensemble.

[4] See p. 44, n. 4 above.

[5] Sophocles' Ajax is yet another practitioner of a kind of heroism no longer in fashion. See T. G. Rosenmeyer, *The Masks of Tragedy* (Austin, 1963) pp. 155ff., also p. xxi of the Introduction to W. B. Stanford's annotated edition of the tragedy named for this warrior (London etc., 1963). That Odysseus, chief target of Ajax' misguided loathing, is a hero of the newer type both scholars readily acknowledge.

[6] With regard to Idmon see mainly p. 7 and n. 8 of Fränkel's article.

He suggests, for example, that the Argonautic leader's inability to reach rapid decisions is symptomatic not of weakness, as Idas (whose simple psyche encounters no such difficulties) may believe, but of a complex and many-sided personality. Whereas the other, characterized by Fränkel as "ein Relikt aus der Urzeit," "der primitive Idas," "ein urzeitliches Wesen," even "eine anachronistische Absurdität,"[1] responds more or less predictably to a stimulus, Jason takes time to think out every problem and to explore ramifications and nearer and remoter consequences.

There is an element of paradox too. One would expect the old-fashioned hero to be deeply imbued with religion, the hero of "modern" temperament to be much more sceptical regarding the operation of divine forces in the universe. Yet it is Idas who manifests impiety and who deifies his spear.[2] whereas Jason shows himself always amenable to acknowledging and accepting the gods' help. Why? Fränkel sees the latter as both a reasonable and a practical man.[3] Cognizant of the magnitude of the tasks assigned him and at the same time of his own and his companions' limited competency to carry them through to completion, Jason would hardly deem it meet to scoff at the supernatural.

Lawall, by the way, sees a foil to Jason in practically every hero who emerges into prominence in the *Argonautica*. Unlike the others, he argues, who remain static and never deviate from a fixed type—this one a man of *brawn* (Heracles), that one a man of skill (Tiphys, Polydeuces, Ancaeus II), this one a man of *valor* (Telamon, Peleus, Idas), that one a man of *piety* (Idmon, Mopsus, Phineus, Orpheus)— Jason undergoes a continuing evolution (discussed in Pt. II of Lawall's article (pp. 148ff.), entitled "Jason's Education"). It seems to me that these categories, which Lawall explains in considerahle detail (pp. 123-148), become rather Procrustean. Seers and bards may be pious; yet they, no less than helmsmen and "scientific" boxers (concerning whom see especially Chs. XII and VIII below), practise a τέχνη. What I find least acceptable, however, is the oversimplified conception of Heracles as βίαιος and little else. Without going quite so far as A. Ardizzoni, *L'Eracle semnos nel poema di Apollonio* (Catania, 1937) pp. 37f., who imputes to the Heracles of the *Argonautica* not only "temperanza" and "austerità" (both illustrated surely in his behavior during the Lemnian episode: cf. Ch. V below), but "sagezza" as well—consider too Carspecken's characterization of the "new" (i.e. Apollonian) Heracles as "an ascetic, subordinating every pleasure to a single-minded purpose and his duty" (op. cit. (above, p. 2, n. 6) p. 120)—I have attempted a sort of antidote in a recent paper entitled "Apollonius' Heracles" (presented at a meeting of The Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Indianapolis, Indiana, March 30, 1967).

1 Cited respectively from pp. 5; 7; 9 (bis). For a more sympathetic analysis of Idas' rôle see Roux, op. cit. (above, p. 15, n. 3) pp. 207-210.

2 Cf. above, pp. 50f.

3 Op. cit. (above, p. 44, n. 4) pp. 18f.

Nor will he disdain the help of a mortal female. This too has its paradoxical side. For it is the scoffer Idas who once again shows himself to be doctrinaire and unrealistic.[1] Jason, by contrast, applying reason and thinking pragmatically, puts his trust in the gods and in Medea. His tactics are rewarded with the desired results: acquisition of the Golden Fleece and safe return of the Argo to Pagasae.

What of Idas' ready prowess? Again and again it is wasted in demonstrations which have no worthwhile outcome. The weapons-test merely brought to a climax the futile series which included the slayings of Promeus (I 1044), who turned out to be friend, not foe,[2] and of the wild boar (II 830ff.), whose victim, the seer Idmon, was already beyond saving.[3]

XIV

That Fränkel and Lawall should laud rather than denigrate Apollonius' Jason is rather refreshing. They have understood this essentially anti-heroic hero far better than did many an earlier observer.[4] Yet the poet Goethe long ago was able to appreciate the qualities which guaranteed Jason's ultimate success:

> Nachsinnend, kräftig, klug, im Rat bequem,
> So herrschte Jason, Frauen angenehm. [*Faust* 7373f.][5]

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1 Cf. p. 19 of Fränkel's article.

2 Concerning the case of mistaken identity which led to the Argonautic slaughter of the Doliones and of their ruler, King Cyzicus, see Ch. VI below.

3 The ironies of the situation are discussed above, pp. 52ff.

4 A series of condemnatory remarks is assembled by Carspecken, op. cit. (above, p. 2, n. 6) pp. 99f. Rather than reproduce the several citations (which tend toward monotonous uniformity) I list authors and loci in chronological sequence: A. Couat, *La poésie alexandrine sous les trois premiers Ptolémées, 324-222* (Paris, 1882) pp. 319f. = p. 336 of J. Loeb's English translation (London and New York, 1931); A. and M. Croiset, *Histoire de la littérature grecque*[4] (Paris, 1928-1938) V 237f.; Mackail, op. cit. (above, p. 6, n. 4) p. 263; Mooney, op. cit. (above, p. 2, n. 1) p. 37; A. Körte, *Hellenistic Poetry* (trr. J. Hammer and M. Hadas from the first German edition) (New York, 1929) p. 183; Gillies, op. cit. (above, p. 1, n. 4) p. xl; F. A. Wright, *A History of Later Greek Literature* (London, 1932) p. 100; C. M. Bowra, *Ancient Greek Literature* (ibid., 1933) p. 221. Euripides' Jason has been no less severely pummelled than his Apollonian counterpart. R. B. Palmer quotes numerous adverse judgments at the start of an article whose ultimate purpose is rehabilitative. See "An Apology for Jason: A Study of Euripides' *Medea*," *CJ* LIII (1957-1958) 49-55.

5 From Pt. II, Act. II (cited by Fränkel himself, op. cit. (above, p. 44, n. 4) p. 13).

Goethe's Chiron, the speaker here, likewise assesses the Dioscuri (7369f.), Orpheus (7375f.), and Lynceus (7377f.), yet—to the surprise of Faust himself (7381)—omits all mention of Heracles. Apparently the omission was governed by realization that that hero did not belong in a list whose purpose, stated at the outset (7365-7368), was to demonstrate the necessary interdependence of the Argonauts one upon the other.[1] Had Heracles remained a participant in the expedition, there would have been no need for the others or even for Jason himself to do anything of vital moment. The bearer of the lion-skin and cudgel could have employed his extraordinary powers to seize the Golden Fleece, just as he seized the apples of the Hesperides or diverted a river to expedite the cleansing of Augeas' incredibly filthy stables.[2]

Instead, as the Apollonian Jason has already emphasized, once the Argonauts have assembled at Pagasae, the expedition to Colchis is to be an exercise in cooperation.[3] Those destined to work together include not only Jason and his fellow Argonauts, but also Medea, the blind prophet Phineus, Phrixus' four sons,[4] and a number of friendly deities: among them Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite, as well as Apollo and Zeus.[5]

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[1] Concerning Jason's effort to enlist persons with special competencies see above, p. 36.

[2] Note that the former feat is described in Bk. IV of the *Argonautica*. See lines 1396ff. With regard to the presence of Augeas himself among the Argonauts see Ch. III above.

[3] See I 336f., cited above, p. 44. ad fin.

[4] Concerning Phineus and the Phrixids see respectively Chs. IX and XIII-XIV below. See also above, pp. 19ff. with reference to Argus II specifically. Medea's rôle (already noted here and there in Ch. II above: see pp. 14f.; 17; 19; 22f.) will be discussed more fully in my forthcoming study of Bks. III-IV. But see Ch. V below with regard to analogies between her romantic involvement with Jason and that of her predecessor, Queen Hypsipyle of Lemnos.

[5] With reference to the individual sphere of action assigned to each divine agent see the appropriate chapters of Mirmont's op. cit. (above, p. 1, n. 3). See also Klein, op. cit. (above, p. 3, n. 2); Hémardinquer, op. cit. (above, p. 17, n. 3) pp. 35ff. Due account will be taken below of intervention by a god or gods into this or that action of Bks. I-II. Hera's activities have already received considerable attention in Ch. II above.

CHAPTER FIVE

ΠΑΡΑ ΛΗΜΝΙΑΣΙΝ

I

Having sailed past the Magnesian coast and the three rugged promontories which protrude into the Aegean from Chalcidice, Apollonius' Argonauts arrive at the island of Lemnos, scene of the first of many overseas adventures. Winds have diminished so completely that the Argo must be rowed to its destination:

> αὐτὰρ ἅμ' ἠελίοιο βολαῖς ἀνέμοιο λιπόντος
> εἰρεσίῃ κραναὴν Σιντηΐδα νῆσον[1] ἵκοντο. [I 607f.]

Elsewhere in his poem Apollonius will be no less concerned with the effect of climatic conditions on the progress of the Argonauts.[2] But his calling Lemnos "Sintian" is particularly relevant to the more immediate context. No doubt, the poet knew well not only *Odyssey* θ 294,

> οἴχεται ἐς Λῆμνον μετὰ Σίντιας ἀγριοφώνους.

but also Hellanicus' proposed aetiological etymology:

> ...Σίντιας ὀνομασθῆναι τοὺς Λημνίους διὰ τὸ πρώτους ὅπλα ποιῆσαι πολεμικὰ πρὸς τὸ σίνεσθαι τοὺς πλησίον καὶ βλάπτειν. [4 fr. 71c J][3]

In that a bloody and horrific tale awaits recounting it was very much *à propos* to introduce an epithet which would call to mind the savagery of the island's original inhabitants.

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[1] As usual, I have followed Fränkel. The codices, seconded by *Etymologica*, read Λῆμνον. See also p. 60, n. 1 below.

[2] E.g. in his narration of the departure from the land of the Doliones: adverse winds blow the ship back whence it came, with lamentable consequences for the Doliones themselves. See Ch. VI below. Similarly the onset of αὖραι 'Ετήσιοι necessitates an unplanned additional stay in Phineus' realm. See II 498f. and 528-530. With regard to the intercalated αἴτιον (500ff.) I have written the short article mentioned above, p. 5, n. 1.

[3] Both references are cited in a scholium on *Arg.* I 608.

II

No sooner has Apollonius completed his ominous allusion,[1] than he avers clearly and unequivocally that the latest outrage was perpetrated by women rather than by men:

> ἔνθ' ἄμυδις πᾶς δῆμος ὑπερβασίῃσι γυναικῶν
> νηλειῶς δέδμητο παροιχομένωι λυκάβαντι. [I 609f.]

One is reminded of the Danaïds, who did not balk, with the sole exception of Hypermnestra, at slaying their husbands on the wedding night.[2] Indeed, Hypermnestra's sparing Lynceus has as its analogue the decision of Hypsipyle to preserve the life of her father, ex-King Thoas (620ff.).[3]

III

Without preparation or transition Apollonius suddenly halts the aetiological sequel (623-626) to his recital of past history and shifts attention to the present state of the women of Lemnos (627ff.). Whether or not the poet intended it to be amusing, one cannot help but be amused at his description of the consequence of grisly crime.[4] Though all males have been eliminated from the island, tasks traditionally assigned to them must still be carried out. Hence the Lemniades themselves herd the cattle, plow the fields, and even—this is what I find so droll—don their husbands' armor;[5] for they

[1] Λῆμνον, if the correct reading at I 608 (but see the citation above, p. 59, with n. 1), might by itself have connoted something sinister—consider Herodotus' explanation of the background behind the proverbial expression Λήμνια ἔργα (VI 138—or Λήμνια κακά: for detailed discussion see G. Dumézil, *Le crime des Lemniennes* (Diss. compl., Paris, 1924) pp. 9f.)—were it not for its prior appearance in a quite unsinister context (602). Add Σιντηΐδα, however, and a whole atmosphere of treachery and violence is evoked forthwith.

[2] The lamentable disappearance of the second unit of Aeschylus' Danaïd tetralogy (variously known as Αἰγύπτιοι and Θαλαμοποιοί) obliges us to extract this information from other sources, including the same author's *PV* (lines 860ff. especially).

[3] But the old man's escape in a sea-borne chest (λάρναξ) calls to mind rather the story, poignantly retold in a lyric of Simonides (fr. 38 Page), which Apollonius no doubt had seen, of how Danaë and the infant Perseus were cast adrift.

[4] "Apollonius' treatment of this incident," comments Phinney, op. cit. (above, p. 10, n. 3) p. 93, "with all its tragic implications is nevertheless *essentially comic*" (emphasis mine). Cf. Stoessl, op. cit. (above, p. 10, n. 1) Ch. II, especially pp. 34 and 40. See also below, p. 73, n. 4 ad fin.

[5] That the χάλκεια τεύχεα mentioned at 627f. (cf. 635) had been originally the property of the massacred spouses is an assumption on my part. Except in the case of Hypsipyle, who, not being a widow, avails herself rather of

must remain ever on the alert for an attack by Thracians from the mainland.

Yet these women have adapted so quickly to their new way of life that they are beginning to find such occupations easier than the "works of Athena" with which they formerly busied themselves.[1] Thus they have come to resemble the Amazons or even Virgil's Camilla, who shunned domesticity from the first in favor of an existence based on war.

Warriors though they fancy themselves to be, the female islanders are thrown into consternation nonetheless at the approach of the Argo. They have as yet no inkling that the ship brings not a band of Thracian marauders, but Jason and his friendly crew. Consequently, though they throw on their armor and dash down to the beach much in the fashion of Euripides' Bacchants (Θυιάσιν ὠμοβόροις ἴκελαι) (636),[2] once arrived alongside the Argo, the women fall into the same pattern as the rest of Apollonian womankind: in their helplessness and fear they lose even the power of speech:

> ...ἀμηχανίῃι δ' ἔσχοντο
> ἄφθογγοι, τοῖόν σφιν ἐπὶ δέος ἠιωρεῖτο. [638f.][3]

IV

Lest the Lemniades be thought totally depraved, Apollonius has indicated already what provoked their earlier drastic deeds:

> δὴ γὰρ κουριδίας μὲν ἀπηνήναντο γυναῖκας
> ἀνέρες ἐχθήραντες, ἔχον δ' ἐπὶ ληϊάδεσσι
> τρηχὺν ἔρον, ἃς αὐτοὶ ἀγίνεον ἀντιπέρηθεν
> Θρηϊκίην δηιοῦντες... [611-614]

τεύχεα which had belonged originally to her father (637f.), Apollonius does not specify previous ownership.

[1] When he penned such verses, had Apollonius forgotten that warfare, though not normally a feminine activity, falls nonetheless into the province of Athena herself, the goddess regularly represented wearing a helmet and wielding a spear? Elsewhere he reserves the same accoutrements rather for Aphrodite, seemingly a most unlikely candidate. See lines 742-746 and the article mentioned above, p. 44, n. 3.

[2] The Euripidean parallel (see *Bacch.* 138f.: ἀγρεύων / αἷμα τραγοκτόνον, ὠμοφάγον χάριν...see 1125ff. also, where the dismemberment of live cattle is described in detail—not to mention Pentheus' own later analogous demise) is duly noted by the scholiast, who also glosses Θυιάσιν as Μαινάσιν, Βάκχαις.

[3] On the prevalence of these psychological states in the *Argonautica* cf. above, p. 40, n. 2; p. 49, n. 2.

Understandably a lawfully wedded wife would react to her displacement not only with jealousy, but with a sense of honor crying for redress. Apollonius does not state this explicitly; yet his choice of vocabulary, with ληϊάδεσσι placed in opposition to κουριδίας... γυναῖκας, ought to make this motivation clear.

But why did the men of Lemnos spurn their legitimate spouses in the first place? The women themselves were at fault, according to Apollonius, who avers that Aphrodite had become angered at their failure to show proper respect:

...ἐπεὶ χόλος αἰνὸς ὄπαζε
Κύπριδος, οὕνεκά μιν γεράων ἐπὶ δηρὸν ἄτισσαν. [614f.][1]

Even in the divine sphere γέρας, the outward or material manifestation, plays its rôle in assuring the recipient's status. Is Aphrodite, then, so different from mortal Achilles and Agamemnon, whose dispute over the honors and prerogatives to which both felt themselves entitled functions as the point of departure for the action of the *Iliad*?

V

Apollonius has suppressed, the scholiast has emphasized the tradition that Aphrodite's punishment consisted in casting over the Lemniades a disgusting stench (δυσοσμία) which was bound to make them repulsive to their husbands.[2] Or has the author of the *Argonautica* made room for at least a hint at the end of line 614? Hermann Fränkel thinks that we should read ἄποζε rather than ὄπαζε. He translates the sequence as "Aphrodite's wrath *reeked* off them."[3]

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[1] For a comparable offense Hippolytus (see Euripides' tragedy named for him) suffered far worse punishment. See above, Ch. II, for discussion of the consequences of Pelias' having slighted the goddess Hera. With regard to the possibility of an alternative reading at the end of line 614 see below and n. 3.

[2] The rest of the scholium concerns the planning and carrying out of the mass-slayings. Other authors, notably Statius and Valerius Flaccus, have followed Apollonius' lead in omitting express reference to odor, "qu'ils remplacent," observes Dumézil, op. cit. (above, p. 60, n. 1) p. 14, "par des griefs *tout moraux*" (emphasis mine).

[3] See p. 116 and n. 5 of "Problems of Text and Interpretation in Apollonius' *Argonautica*," *AJP* LXXI (1950) 113-133. Herodotus III 113,1 (ἀπόζει δὲ τῆς χώρης τῆς 'Αραβίης θεσπέσιον ὡς ἡδύ) is cited there for the sake of comparison. In the apparatus criticus to his Oxford Classical Text of the poem Fränkel suggests both ἄποζε and the augmented form ἀπῶζε without attempting to eliminate one in favor of the other.

If we cling nonetheless to the received reading in the belief that the poet deliberately avoids calling the problem of δυσοσμία to mind, we may also allow that he was little troubled about a discrepancy destined to cause concern for latter-day scholars. By not mentioning odor Apollonius obviates the necessity of explaining how the women of Lemnos, "guéries sans que personne puisse nous dire comment," were able to entice the Argonauts into intimate contact.[1]

VI

Not the Lemniades, but the Argonauts themselves seize the initiative. They send Aethalides to notify the island's inhabitants of their arrival (640ff.).[2] Relying on "honeyed words," a medium of communication much favored by his leader, the herald succeeds in persuading the Queen herself to grant the Argonauts access to her capital (650ff.).[3]

Like the Argonauts, the Lemniades too decide that diplomacy will be preferable to warlike gestures.[4] Having assembled to discuss Aethalides' proposals (653ff.), they respond by likewise dispatching an herald, namely Iphinoë (700ff.), to ask that the Argonauts send their leader to a conference with Queen Hypsipyle.[5] The Argonauts agree (717). In a few transitional verses (718-720) the poet indicates the misapprehension under which they are laboring as they make

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[1] Consciousness of such a discrepancy is voiced, in the very terms which I have quoted, by Dumézil, op. cit. (above, p. 60, n. 1) p. 15.

[2] The digressive nature of the verses concerning the connection between the herald's paternity (other details of his lineage are established in the Catalogue: see I 53ff., where he is called, however, not son of Hermes, but kinsmen to Hermes' sons Erytus and Echion (concerning whom see above, p. 30)) and the fact that not even death can strip his soul of consciousness is made clear at the end:

...—ἀλλὰ τί μύθους
Αἰθαλίδεω χρειώ με διηνεκέως ἀγορεύειν; [648f.]

Cf. I 1220 (likewise an admission of having strayed) and p. 159. below.

[3] Concerning the persuasiveness of Jason and of his cousin, Argus II, see above, p. 21 and n. 2, also p. 44 and p. 46, n. 3.

[4] Sophocles appears to be the only ancient author to have brought the Lemniades into actual armed combat with the Argonauts. Others mention at least the threat of hostilities. See Schol. Ap. Rh. I 769-773 ad fin., as well as p. 78, n. 3 below.

[5] Lines 700f. are cited below, p. 67. See lines 709-717 concerning the actual embassy.

ready: they assume that Hypsipyle rules because King Thoas has died and left her as sole heir.[1]

VII

In all this prelude to the establishment of diplomatic relations it is understandable that oratory should play a large rôle. Moreover, whereas Apollonius had summed up the entire speech of Jason's herald Aethalides in the single verb μειλίξατο (650), the subsequent utterances of Hypsipyle (657-666; 700f.; 703-707) and of Polyxo (675-696) before the assembled women of Lemnos, as well as that of Iphinoë to the Argonauts as a group (712-716), are reported in full *oratio recta.*

Hypsipyle in her first speech urges that gifts and supplies be conveyed to the Argonauts. She bases her argument not on the desirability of being hospitable for hospitality's sake, but rather on the advantage which a generous policy would ensure to the Lemniades themselves. For her objective in sending food and other necessities down to the Argo is to keep the crew away from the capital and prevent them thereby from prying into recent events—whose ill fame would be none too easy to repress and knowledge of which would hardly prove pleasant to him who acquired it. Ἐπεὶ μέγα ἔργον ἐρέξαμεν (662), her erroneous explanation, proves shrewd from a political standpoint, at least. For she thus classifies herself as a fellow participant with the other Lemniades in an action from which she actually abstained. Being as yet unmarried, she had no cause to extirpate anyone in the initial massacre. Afterwards she tacitly withheld assent from the plan to slaughter all remaining males and, as has been already noted, contrived to smuggle her father out alive.[2]

Having made her opinion known, Hypsipyle asks whether anyone else at the assembly has something better to suggest. Her invitation,

> ὑμέων δ' εἴ τις ἄρειον ἔπος μητίσεται ἄλλη,
> εἰρέσθω... [665f.]

[1] Note that the scholiast equates τηλυγέτην (719) with μόνην. Cf. 99f. and 148f., which verses have to do with Phalerus and the Dioscuri respectively. An alternative interpretation (καταγηράσαντι αὐτῶι γενόμενον), supplied in a scholium on the former passage, is dismissed by J. A. Scott, "The Meaning of τηλύγετος in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius," *CW* VIII (1914-1915) 7. W. B. Stanford, "Τηλύγετος," *CR* LI (1937) 168, interprets this adjective (as much Homeric as Apollonian) still differently.

[2] See above, p. 60 and n. 3.

is sufficiently reminiscent of *Iliad* Ξ 107f.,

> νῦν δ' εἴη ὃς τῆσδέ γ' ἀμείνονα μῆτιν ἐνίσποι,
> ἢ νέος ἠέ παλαιός...

to cause even the Apollonian scholiast to take note of the parallel. And just as Agamemnon's words gain a prompt reply from Diomedes, so Hypsipyle is answered by Polyxo. However, whereas the recommendations of the Argive hero (Θ 128-132), the gist of which is "Let us return to the fray, wounded though we be," are preceded by a lengthy preamble concerning the speaker's ancestry, Polyxo advances directly to the subject.[1]

VIII

Inasmuch as Polyxo, an old woman, offers advice to be carried out by the younger members of her audience, there is perhaps some justification for Apollonius' postponing quotation of the actual speech until he has had an opportunity to insert a detailed description of the decrepitude of the speaker (γήραϊ δὴ ῥικνοῖσιν ἐπισκάζουσα πόδεσσιν, / βάκτρωι ἐρειδομένη) (I 669f.)[2] and of her four close companions, said to be both virginal (ἀδμῆτες) (672) and white-haired (λευκῆισιν ἐπιχνοάουσαι ἐθείραις),(ibid.).[3]

[1] In the former case, however, what motivated the stress on lineage was not excessive pride, but the need to offset the impediment to persuasiveness posed by the speaker's extreme youth. Polyxo, being senior to all or most others, experiences no such problem. Her advanced age remains a matter of interest nonetheless. See the discussion below.

[2] Concerning similar language employed to describe the seer Phineus (especially at II 198) see Ch. IX below. Phinney, op. cit. (above, p. 10, n. 3) p. 95, n. 19, aware of these verbal parallels, would have us examine also the visual representation of a comparable type, an old shepherd bent over his staff, shown in a relief formerly part of the Pollak Collection at Rome. Such work is considered by M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*[2] (New York, 1961) p. 136, to be representative of a "rococo" trend. A photograph of the relief which caught Phinney's eye appears as Fig. 594 in Miss Bieber's assemblage of plates. Phinney ought to have directed attention also to Figs. 589-591. On the other hand, he acknowledges (in a letter dated October 16, 1968) the existence of a Tanagran terra cotta of an elderly nurse holding a baby. He would have us consult the photographic reproduction supplied by T. B. L. Webster, *Hellenistic Art* (London, 1967) p. 47, Pl. 11.

[3] That the modifier in the latter instance serves as an indication of youth (i.e. platinum blonde), not of age, is argued unconvincingly by J. Samuelsson, *Ad Apollonium Rhodium aduersaria* (= *Skrifter Utgifna af kongl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet* VIII (1) (Uppsala, 1902) pp. 8-10. Cf. Phinney, op. cit. (above, p. 10, n. 3) p. 96, n. 20. I find myself in agreement rather with R. C. Seaton and F. Stoessl. See respectively "On Apollonius Rhodius I 668f.," *CR* XXVI (1912) 83, and op. cit. (above, p. 10, n. 1) p. 35, n. 16.

In the speech itself Polyxo does not exactly contradict Hypsipyle's recommendations. As a matter of fact, she even applauds them at the outset and makes use of the very language which Hypsipyle herself employed:

> δῶρα μέν, ὡς αὐτῆι περ ἐφανδάνει Ὑψιπυλείῃι,
> πέμπωμεν ξείνοισιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄρειον ὀπάσσαι. [675f.][1]

How courteous of Polyxo, after the Queen has asked whether anyone else can offer a "better" suggestion, to reply that Hypsipyle's own proposal that gifts be sent is itself "better!"

On the other hand, the old nurse refuses to accept her monarch's reasoning that Lemniades and Argonauts should be kept segregated. Instead she counsels bringing the two groups together for mutual benefit. In a very moving appeal she forces her juniors to consider what future they may expect if they grow old without children and without anyone close by to protect them from harm or to carry out labors which they themselves will by that time be too feeble to perform. "Wretches,[2] how will you live *then*?" she asks. "Will the oxen be yoked of their own accord for plowing? Will they simply harvest the corn as the year slips by?"[3] Having asked these questions and having commented on the fact that her own death will have come before she herself is forced to experience such difficulties, Polyxo directs the attention of the younger women to a remedy which has just now become available:

> νῦν γὰρ δὴ παρὰ ποσσὶν ἐπήβολός ἐστ' ἀλεωρή,
> εἴ κεν ἐπιτρέψητε δόμους καὶ ληΐδα πᾶσαν
> ὑμετέρην ξείνοισι καὶ ἀγλαὸν ἄστυ μέλεσθαι. [694-696]

Polyxo's speech excites hubbub afterward, but no disapproval. The mood of acceptance established originally as a result of Aethalides' soft spoken approach to Hypsipyle[4] continues into the Lem-

More recently Phinney himself has become converted to this view, as he concedes in the letter mentioned above, n. 2.

[1] Cf. 665f., cited above, p. 64 ad fin. Line 675 is cited in part also below, p. 67.

[2] So I have translated δυσάμμοροι. With regard to the applicability of this and similar terms to other Apollonian (and even Homeric) figures see pp. 40-42 above and pp. 41, n. 1 and 2; p. 42, n. 1. See also Ch. IX below concerning Phineus' reference to himself as δυσάμμορος ἀνήρ (II 218).

[3] In the interest of idiomatic rendering I have greatly compressed the original four verses (685-688).

[4] Cf. above.

niad assembly, as iteration of the verb ἁνδάνειν or of one of its compounds makes clear.[1] With Polyxo's conciliatory ὡς αὐτῆι περ ἐφανδάνει Ὑψιπυλείῃι (675)[2] compare not only the reaction of the audience at large (εὔαδε γάρ σφιν / μῦθος) (697f.), but also Hypsipyle's brief reply:

> εἰ μὲν δὴ πάσῃισιν ἐφανδάνει ἥδε μενοινή,
> ἤδη κεν μετὰ νῆα καὶ ἄγγελον ὀτρύναιμι. [700f.]

IX

It is at this point that the Queen instructs her herald Iphinoë to seek out the leader of the Argonauts.[3] Comparison of Hypsipyle's speech to Iphinoë and of Iphinoë's to the Argonauts as a group,

> ὄρσο μοι, Ἰφινόη, τοῦδ' ἀνέρος ἀντιόωσα
> ἡμέτερόνδε μολεῖν ὅστις στόλου ἡγεμονεύει,
> ὄφρα τί οἱ δήμοιο ἔπος θυμηδὲς ἐνίσπω·
> καί δ' αὐτοὺς γαίης τε καὶ ἄστεος, αἴ κ' ἐθέλωσι,
> κέκλεο θαρσαλέως ἐπιβαινέμεν εὐμενέοντας. [703-707]
>
> κούρη τοί μ' ἐφέηκε Θοαντιὰς ἐνθάδ' ἰοῦσαν
> Ὑψιπύλη καλέειν νηὸς πρόμον ὅστις ὄρωρεν,
> ὄφρα τί οἱ δήμοιο ἔπος θυμηδὲς[4] ἐνίσπηι.
> καὶ δ' αὐτοὺς γαίης τε καὶ ἄστεος, αἴ κ' ἐθέλητε,
> κέκλεται αὐτίκα νῦν ἐπιβαινέμεν εὐμενέοντας. [712-716]

shows Apollonius to be following Homer's manner rather more closely than usual. For usually the author of the *Argonautica* tries

[1] Keep in mind the cognate relationship with Latin *suauis, suadere,* and *persuadere,* as well as with German *süss* and English *sweet.*

[2] Cited also above, p. 66.

[3] At I 702 the codices (followed by Fränkel only in part, since he conjectures ἀμφίπολον in place of the proper noun) read Ἰφινόην μετεφώνεεν. In accordance with the testimony of a papyrus preserved at Milan (concerning which see I. Cazzaniga, *Papiri della r. Università di Milano* I (1937) 8-10 (= #6), I read προσεφώνεεν instead. For explanation see my "Μετα- or προσ-?" *CP* LIX (1964) 181-184.

[4] Observing that θυμηδές—actually only]ΔΕΣ; but this suffices: the initial Θ is all that survives of the adjective in its earlier appearance—occurs at line 714 in the Milanese papyrus (concerning which see n. 3 above). Fränkel adopts this reading both here and at line 705. The manuscript tradition generally gives θυμῆρες. In either event the choice of adjective underlines the shift from Hypsipyle's original policy of keeping the Argonauts at a distance. Note that at line 663 the mss. transmit θυμηδές in the text, while a Laurentian gloss explains the term as θυμῆρες, ἀγαπητόν.

to find ways of avoiding repetitions of this sort.[1] But the repetitive style, if employed sparingly, can be meaningful and effective. Here the Lemniad emissary is shown to have transmitted her Queen's message faithfully, without embellishment or extraneous interpolation.

X

Iphinoë's mission proves no less successful than did that of Aethalides. Forthwith the Argonauts send Jason ahead to confer with Hypsipyle, while they themselves prepare to come along later (719f.). Jason proceeds toward the capital carrying a spear given him by Atalanta as a token of friendship (769f.).[2]

Of greater import than the spear, however, is the purple cloak which Jason wears on the same occasion. This gift not of another mortal woman, but of the goddess Athena, merits lengthy description (721-768). The poet calls it δίπλαξ.[3] He employed the same term before (325f.) to contrast the fine garment awarded Acastus by his sister and the bullhide covering which Argus I had thrown over his shoulders. If I was right in surmising earlier that both δίπλακες, that of Jason and that of Acastus, somehow symbolized reliance on

[1] G. W. Elderkin's article, "Repetitions in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius," *AJP* XXXIV (1913) 198-201, is so short because Apollonius, in deliberate contrast to Homer, repeats whole verses so rarely. What the author of the *Argonautica* does more often is recapitulate the same material in different words. See, for example, I 1082-1087 and 1092-1097 and the discussion below, Ch. VI. With regard to the efforts of Apollonius and of Virgil in general to achieve variety see Heinze, op. cit. (above, p. 38, n. 3) pp. 462f. Strivings on the part of Callimachus, Lycophron, and Theocritus to adhere to "das Prinzip der Abwechslung, der *uariatio*, der ποικιλία" are discussed at length by L. Deubner. See his "Ein Stilprinzip hellenistischer Dichtkunst," *NJbb* XLVII (1921) 361-378.

[2] Concerning the significance of the term ξεινήϊον here and elsewhere see below, p. 72 and n. 1. At line 773 the poet explains why Jason reluctantly rejected Atalanta's bid to become one of the Argonauts:

δεῖσε γὰρ ἀργαλέας ἔριδας φιλότητος ἕκητι.

"La légende primitive ne connaissait sans doute pas ce scrupule," comments Roux, op. cit. (above, p. 15, n.3) p. 142, who takes note of the fact that even Apollonius' Jason allows twelve handmaidens (a gift of Queen Arete) to board his ship, boarded already long since by Medea. Neither Apollonius nor the scholiast says anything—directly, at any rate—about the alternative tradition which makes Atalanta an Argonaut after all. See instead Apollodorus and Diodorus, locc. citt. (above, p. 26, n.2 ad fin.).

[3] The formation appears to be adjectival (sc. χλαῖνα, or the like), but is most often granted nominal status. See LSJ s.v., who for some reason omit all Apollonian occurrences from consideration.

persuasion rather than on force,[1] perhaps the disproportion between the amount of description assigned to Jason's weapon (almost nil) and to his outerware (more than forty-five verses) is likewise symbolic of the continual triumph in the *Argonautica* of a gentler and more civilized approach.[2]

XI

Equipped, then, with his ethically instructive cloak[3] and more or less non-utilitarian spear, Jason makes his way from the harbor to his first meeting with Hypsipyle. Perhaps it is no accident that the words βῆ δ' ἴμεναι (I 774),[4] referring to the start of the cityward journey, are echoed in the equally Homeric βῆ ῥ' ἴμεν of line 843,[5] where the reference is rather to Jason's hastening back to the ship to summon his comrades.

Both going and coming the Argonautic leader attracts large throngs of admiring Lemniades. Delightedly they mill about him (783f.;[6] 844). Indeed, the theme of feminine delight was already well established in the elaborate simile with which this segment of the poem began:

[1] See above, p. 44 and n. 3.

[2] Such seems to be true at least of the cloak awarded Jason by Athena. But another purple garment (called this time πέπλος rather than δίπλαξ), woven originally by the Graces for the nuptials of Dionysus and Ariadne at Naxos, later passed on by Hypsipyle to Jason, gains attention in Bk. IV (see 423ff.) in a much more ominous context. For this cloak is included among the ξεινήϊα δῶρα put forth by Jason and Medea as bait to inveigle the latter's soon-to-be-assassinated brother Apsyrtus into a trap. Duckworth, op. cit. (above, p. 14, n. 2) p. 59, detects in the interconnected allusion to Ariadne's abandonment by Theseus (see the whole of IV 423-434, but especially the last few verses) a foreshadowing of an event which lies beyond the limits of the *Argonautica*: Jason's ultimate sloughing off of Medea herself. Concerning the equally ominous transfer from Aeneas to Dido of *ornatus Argiuae Helenae* (Virgil, *Aen.* I 650) see the interesting discussion essayed by Duckworth, pp. 59f.

[3] Detailed analysis of the several sets of illustrations embroidered on its surface will be found in the article mentioned above, p. 44, n. 3. See also Lawall, op. cit. (above, p. 44, n. 4) pp. 154-158; E. Peschties, *Quaestiones philologicae et archaeologicae de Apollonii Rhodii Argonauticis* (Diss., Koenigsberg, 1912) pp. 6-33.

[4] Cited more fully below, p. 70 ad init.

[5] Instances of both combinations in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are too numerous to list here. One such is recorded below, p. 70, n. 1. For the rest see the concordances respectively of G. L. Prendergast and of H. Dunbar (both in new edd., Hildesheim, 1962) s.vv. ἴμεν and ἴμεναι.

[6] Cf. below, p. 73 and n. 4.

βῆ δ' ἴμεναι προτὶ ἄστυ, φαεινῶι ἀστέρι ἶσος,[1]
ὅν ῥά τε νηγατέῃσιν ἐεργόμεναι καλύβῃσιν
νύμφαι θηήσαντο δόμων ὕπερ ἀντέλλοντα,
καί σφισι κυανέοιο δι' αἰθέρος ὄμματα θέλγει
καλὸν ἐρευθόμενος, γάνυται δέ τε ἠϊθέοιο
παρθένος ἱμείρουσα[2] μετ' ἀλλοδαποῖσιν ἐόντος
ἀνδράσιν, ὧι κέν μιν μνηστὴν κομέωσι τοκῆες—
τῶι ἴκελος προπόλοιο κατὰ στίβον ἤϊεν ἥρως. [774-781]

In the scholiast's opinion Apollonius has chosen his imagery well, to accord with the fact of Hypsipyle's love for Jason:

> διόλου δὲ ἁρμόζουσα καὶ οἰκεία ἡ εἰκών. καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐρῶσα ἐξεδέχετο παρθένος καταλαμπόμενον τῶι κάλλει.[3]

The suggestion that a human being could be comparable to a star is not unique to this portion of the *Argonautica*, of course. I have already discussed both the passage which likens the Argonauts to φαεινοὶ ἀστέρες, viewers of their march to νέφη (I 238-240), and that which takes Jason to be Apollo's mortal counterpart (307-311).[4] Features of both have become more or less merged in the present instance. Jason alone takes over the celestial gleam associated previously with the Argonauts as a group. Similarly the nature of the onlooking multitude has been modified: the spectators consist now of women only, of young women for the most part, it would seem. Women are conspicuous, moreover, both in the star-simile itself and in the actual situations narrated at 782-784 and again at 843ff.[5]

[1] M. Parry (see pp. 213f. of his "The Distinctive Character of Enjambement in Homeric Verse," *TAPA* LX (1929) 200-220), arguing that Apollonius "has gone to some pains to avoid copying formulas of any great length," cites this verse as a case in point. For he finds it to be composed almost entirely of elements taken respectively from *Iliad* N 242 (βῆ δ' ἴμεν ἀστεροπῆι ἐναλίγκιος: cf. *Arg.* I 843, cited above); *Od.* ω 154 (ἵκοντο προτὶ ἄστυ περικλυτόν); *Iliad* Z 401 (ἀλίγκιον ἀστέρι καλῶι; Λ 747 (κελαινῆι λαίλαπι ἶσος). Note that in each instance Apollonius locates the borrowed element exactly where Homer before him had placed it in the hexameter.

[2] I take this as a forecast both of Hypsipyle's (cf. the remarks of the scholiast cited below) and of Medea's maidenly attraction to Jason, as well as of the situation explained at I 850 (concerning which see below, p. 78 and n. 6).

[3] Not always is the scholiast thus satisfied. See below, p. 73, n. 4, concerning a case in point.

[4] See above, pp. 38. and 39f. respectively.

[5] Cf. above, p. 69.

By again and again representing women *en masse* Apollonius again and again reminds us that the island has become temporarily devoid of males. The joy with which Jason is received not only betrays the desire of each mateless female to find a new partner, but becomes prophetic too of the Argonautic leader's individual rôle; for by charming an Hypsipyle or later, and more vitally, a Medea he will succeed in his major task.[1]

XII

Consciousness of his task, however, is what keeps Jason from acceding to Hypsipyle's recommendation that he take up permanent residence at Lemnos and assume kingship over the island's inhabitants (827ff.). In a response which seems to foreshadow Aeneas' *Italiam non sponte sequor* (Virgil, Aen. IV 361)—Dido is, of course, the addressee there—the captain of the Argonauts manages to decline the offer more graciously and diplomatically than could his Trojan analogue.[2] For his carefully worded concluding utterance,

...ἀνακτορίη δὲ μελέσθω
σοίγ' αὐτῆι καὶ νῆσος· ἔγωγε μὲν οὐκ ἀθερίζων
χάζομαι, ἀλλά με λυγροὶ ἐπισπέρχουσιν ἄεθλοι. [839-841]

has been preceded not only by a promise to return after consultation with the Argonauts (838f.), but also by an opening statement built around the oxymoric intercalation of the key-adjective θυμηδής (employed already at 663; 705; 714)[3] into a context denoting *need*:

Ὑψιπύλη, μάλα κεν θυμηδέος ἀντιάσαιμεν
χρησμοσύνης ἣν ἄμμι σέθεν χατέουσιν ὀπάζεις. [836f.]

How chivalrously expressed! But the Argonauts have *need* of Hypsipyle as well as of her gifts. It is no less true that the exclusively female population of Lemnos can satisfy their own χρησμοσύναι only with the aid of members of the opposite sex. With this basic fact of life in mind Polyxo had called for amendment of Hypsipyle's original proposals.[4]

[1] Cf. above, Ch. IV ad fin.

[2] Also to Jason's advantage is the fact that he has made his position clear *before* rather than after becoming romantically involved with his hostess. Aeneas' ineptitude *vis-à-vis* Dido ought to be the concern of a separate study.

[3] See above, p. 67 and n. 4.

[4] See above, pp. 65-67.

The degree to which the Queen has been influenced by the thinking of the aged nurse becomes manifest if we compare what the former claimed was the intent of her initial policy toward the Argonauts,

...ἵν' ἔμπεδον ἔκτοθι πύργων
μίμνοιεν... [659f.]

and what she says now at the beginning of her first face-to-face encounter with their chief:

ξεῖνε,[1] τίη μίμνοντες ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔκτοθι πύργων
ἧσθ' αὔτως; ... [793f.]

Though the vocabulary of the second speech largely duplicates that of the first, the faintly chiding query conveys a meaning diametrically opposed to that of the earlier purpose clause. Such will be true also at the third appearance of the same preposition and verb:

ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν ἐπὶ νῆα κιὼν ἑτάροισιν ἐνίσπες
μύθους ἡμετέρους, μηδ' ἔκτοθι μίμνε πόληος. [832f.]

XIII

It seems to me that the shift from wariness regarding the Argonauts to open-handed urging that they become part of the life of the city corresponds to a subtle change in Hypsipyle's own being. When Polyxo pressed for admission of the Argonauts, the Queen's response signified acquiescence rather than positive commitment.[2] Her maidenly embarrassment persists up to the very moment of her first glimpse of Jason and of her first conversation with him:

...ἡ δ' ἐγκλιδὸν ὄσσε βαλοῦσα
παρθενικὴ ἐρύθηνε παρηΐδας· ἔμπα δὲ τόνγε
αἰδομένη μύθοισι προσέννεπεν αἱμυλίοισιν. [790-792][3]

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[1] Whereas Jason will address Hypsipyle by name (see 836, cited above), she herself has already addressed *him* via the term which emphasizes the dual status of the Argonauts at Lemnos. They are simultaneously *strangers* to the island and (despite the Queen's earlier uneasiness) welcome *guests*. After Jason's interview with Hypsipyle wagons laden with ξεινήϊα πολλά are dispatched to the ship (845f.), and the Lemniades without too much difficulty persuade the Argonauts to come into town to be entertained at their homes (ξεινοῦσθαι ἐπὶ σφεὰ δώματ') (849: cf. below, p. 78 and n. 5). Observe, by the way, that the term ξεινήϊον was employed also earlier to classify the spear received by Jason from Atalanta (770). Cf. above, p. 68 and n. 2.

[2] See especially line 700, cited above, p. 67.

[3] Cf. Callimachus, fr. 80,10 Pf. (from *Aetia* III):

αἰδοῖ δ' ὡς φοί. [νικι] τεὰς ἐρύθουσα παρειάς

Why is Hypsipyle's manner characterized by blushing and averted eyes and by αἰδώς generally? Partly, one assumes, these are the marks of a virginal nature. The opening phrase (practically a formula) will be iterated verbatim in a description of the mental state of Medea on the occasion of that no less virginal princess' first private interview with the Argonautic leader:

...ἡ δ' ἐγκλιδὸν ὄσσε βαλοῦσα[1]
νεκτάρεον μείδησε, χύθη δέ οἱ ἔνδοθι θυμός
αἴνωι ἀειρομένης... [III 1008-1010]

Medea here reacts to what Jason said when he inaugurated the conversation (975-1007). His praises have emboldened the Colchian maiden at least to the extent that she shifts her averted eyes back toward him (1010) as she attempts to put her response into words. Hypsipyle, on the other hand, is herself first to speak when she and Jason meet. Jason's fashion of addressing Medea (ὑποσσαίνων φάτο μῦθον) (III 974) is reminiscent rather of the way in which Hysipyle has already addressed *him*.[2] Even his opening statement to Medea—actually a question—

τίπτε με, παρθενική, τόσον ἅζεαι οἶον ἐόντα; [III 975]

seems to echo the initial query posed by Hypsipyle at I 793f.[3]

XIV

Not even averted eyes are peculiar to bashful virgins. While women—and not such passive types either, if their open show of delight is any indication—were swirling about him, Jason moved undistracted toward the royal palace *with his eyes fixed on the ground* all the while (I 782-786).[4]

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[1] Concerning the significance of Medea's averted glance at this juncture see also below, p. 86, n. 1.

[2] See I 792, cited above, p. 72. ad fin.

[3] Cited above, p. 72.

[4] The scholiast is annoyed with Apollonius for having spoiled a joyful context (γηθόσυναι ξείνωι) (784: cf. his similar complaint concerning the bee-simile at I 879ff.—the simile itself is mentioned briefly below, p. 80) through the introduction of a verb (ἐπεκλονέοντο) (783) connotative of confusion. To prove his point he cites *Iliad* E 93:

ὡς ὑπὸ Τυδεΐδηι πυκιναὶ κλονέοντο φάλαγγες.

His strictures are unwarranted, in my opinion. The poet has chosen a verb connotative of confusion precisely because the response of the spectators is spontaneous and unorganized. Cf. Stoessl, op. cit. (above, p. 10, n. 1) p. 40,

Jason's failure to take notice of his admirers is indicative, however, not of shyness, but of concentration.[1] So the adverb appended to ἐπὶ χθονὸς ὄμματ' ἐρείσας / νίσσετ' (784f.) makes quite clear. And it does not matter whether one read ἀπηλεγέως, transmitted in the codices, or ἀνηλεγέως, explained in a scholiast's citation from Herodian (= I 79, 23 L). In either event Jason is pictured here as one who pays no heed to anything tangential to his present goal. Once he has arrived at the residence of Hypsipyle, he can afford to adopt a more relaxed demeanor even as he observes and studies his hostess' personality as well as her explicit utterance. As a result he is enabled to respond with dignity and yet in a psychologically effective manner to a head of state who happens also to be both female and marriageable.

XV

For Hypsipyle, however, as for Medea, feelings appropriate to one who is still παρθένος merge with other causes for diffidence and hesitation. Medea falls deeply in love with Jason; yet inasmuch as she is also daughter to King Aeëtes, who demonstrates rather quickly how antipathetic to the Argonauts he can be, the pull of conflicting allegiances generates an intense soul-struggle. Hypsipyle's sense of shame, though tied likewise to a conflict of loyalty, turns out to be less intense and of a different order. For her the choice is not between parents, home, and country on the one side and a desired marital partner on the other.[2] As I noted earlier, Hypsipyle in saving her father's life while other women of Lemnos were killing every male who fell into their hands has acted in much the same way as did the Danaïd Hypermnestra in sparing Lynceus, her Aegyptid husband.[3] In both instances electing the more humane course actually constituted a deed of daring; for it took more

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and Phinney, op. cit. (above, p. 10, n. 3) p. 97 and n. 22, both of whom detect here a humorous note which seems to have escaped the scholiast's notice.

[1] I interpret the behavior of Apollonius' Jason thus, despite the statement assigned to Hypsipyle in an Ovidian couplet clearly redolent of the *Argonautica*:

> "Aesonides," dixi, "quid agit meus?" ille pudore
> haesit in opposita lumina fixus humo. [*Her.* 6,25f.]

[2] Consider Phinney's reminder, op. cit. (above, p. 3, n. 5) p. 356 (cited also below, p. 83, n. 1) that Hypsipyle "feels no guilt about her liaison with Jason."

[3] See above, p. 60.

courage to deviate from the will of a majority bent on slaughter than to do as they.

But now Hypsipyle, who of necessity had concealed her merciful choice from her fellow Lemniades, must for the sake of these more bloodthirsty comrades conceal from Jason the fact of the massacre in which she personally took no part. With great skill she narrates the recent experiences which have left the island manless (I 794-826). She keeps to the facts so far as she can. Where advisable, however, she blends in euphemistic fiction. For example, she states that the men of Lemnos and their captive paramours and whatever children (males in particular) were willing to accompany them have set up housekeeping anew on the Thracian mainland (824ff.).

From explanation of the current absence of males Hypsipyle passes without a break to the recommendation that Jason and the Argonauts take the place of the absentees (827f.). Her ability to deliver the whole speech—lies, invitation, and the rest—has perhaps emboldened this normally shy girl to the point of concluding with the direct command, which I have already cited, that the newcomers not keep themselves aloof from the city (832f.).[1]

The at least partial success of her urgings is demonstrated in the courtesy with which Jason responds as well as in the ceremonial touching of hands which brings the interview to a close (842).[2] The scholiast is right, obviously, in interpreting this last gesture as σύμβολον... τῆς ἑταιρίας.[3]

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[1] Cited above, p. 72.

[2] Cf., with Medea replacing Hypsipyle, III 1067f. (note that αἰδώς quits her eyes at the same time) and IV 99f., as well as Ovid's imitations at *Met.* VII 89 and *Her.* 12,90.

[3] "Wir müssen annehmen," states Wilamowitz, op. cit. (above, p. 44, n. 4) II 213, "dass der Handschlag...die Ehe schliesst." He has in mind IV 99 (cf. n. 2 above), not I 842. Whatever the gesture may have meant to Hypsipyle as opposed to Medea (on the significance of handclasps in the *Argonautica* and elsewhere see F. Grajew, *Untersuchungen über die Bedeutung der Gebärden in der griechischen Epik* (Diss., Freiburg in Breisegau: publ. Berlin, 1934) pp. 43-46), the former does not claim that Jason is legally obligated to stay at her side always. Cf. Heinze, op. cit. (above, p. 38, n. 3) p. 118. See also above, p. 71 and n. 2, with regard to Jason's avoidance of permanent commitment. On the other hand, the Argonautic leader shows responsible concern for the future of any offspring which might be produced as a result of his temporary union with Hypsipyle. See I 904ff. Two sons are mentioned by Ovid in *Her.* 6. Hyginus (15,3) gives their names as Euneüs and Deïpylus. On the rôle of the former in the *Iliad* as a benefactor of the Argonauts see above, p. 31 ad fin. and n. 2.

XVI

Hypsipyle's effort to suppress the gruesome side of recent history at Lemnos, yet resort to outright falsehood as little as possible, has led to some interesting instances of ironic *double-entendre* worthy of a Sophoclean Teiresias[1] of or an Euripidean Medea (older, more experienced, and more embittered than we find her in Apollonius' epic).[2] The opening statement of her narration,

...ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν ὑπ' ἀνδράσι ναίεται ἄστυ (794)

is true, though sufficiently ambiguous to allow Hypsipyle to add not that all are dead, but that they now reside in Thrace and till the soil (795f.). That they too may know well, she avers, she will accurately convey to the Argonauts the whole wretched story (796f.). Yet inasmuch as the chief reason for her previous reluctance to invite the Argonauts into the city was fear that they might come to know too much,[3] it is hardly surprising that Hypsipyle's "unerring" account of all the trouble which has occasioned the present state of affairs should fall somewhat short of the whole truth. The Queen tells how during Thoas' reign the men of Lemnos staged a successful raid on the mainland (798-801). She tells too how the raiders brought back not only booty, but captive women as well (801f.), and how they installed them as concubines at the expense of their legitimate wives (804-807).[4]

Though she acknowledges the rôle of Aphrodite as an instiller of soul-destroying ἄτη (802f.), Hypsipyle says nothing at all about the provocation which led the goddess to seek this form of revenge: the fact that the Lemniades had ceased long ago to pay her the respect

[1] Many of Oedipus' remarks cut both ways also. But the irony comes from the fact that the audience recognize an extra level of meaning of which the speaker himself remains unaware. Teiresias, on the other hand, always knows all the ramifications of his own frequently mysterious utterance.

[2] Consider, for example, the ambiguity of that heroïne's saying to her sons "May you be happy, but *there*; your father took away what was *here*" (*Med.* 1073f.: partially cited in the original below, p. 78). The scholiast takes into account only the more ominous sense. Yet "here" (ἐνθάδε) could mean "at Corinth" as well as "in this life," while "there" (ἐκεῖ) could mean "at Athens" as well as "in Hades."

[3] Cf. above, p. 64.

[4] At 807 the philanderers are labelled σχέτλιοι. Even this adjective is fraught with ambiguity, since it is interpretable both as "hard-hearted" and as "wretched." Cf. 1302, where the application of the same adjective to Zetes and Calaïs proves likewise ambiguous. A more positive interpretation is possible at line 66 of Theocritus' thirteenth Idyll. See p. 123 and n. 3 below.

that was due.[1] Instead Hypsipyle concentrates on the indignities which the women and children of Lemnos were forced to undergo as a result of the husbands' hard-hearted attitude (807ff.). Not only were lawfully wedded wives supplanted by paramours, but legitimate offspring were subjected to scorn, since a newly engendered race of bastards flourished in their stead (809f.).[2] Virgins and widows were likewise despised and neglected (811f.), and no one defended a blood-relative against molestation (813ff.). And all the while the Thracian concubines were wined and dined (818f.), until, as Hypsipyle points out—ambiguously once again—"some deity implanted overwhelming boldness in us" (820).[3]

XVII

The narration has now reached a climactic juncture. An account of the massacre should have followed. And had Hypsipyle continued to tell the truth after having detailed the intolerable situation which culminated in violence, Jason could not help but be sympathetic. However, inasmuch as the Queen will terminate her speech with an invitation to the Argonauts to assume the rôle played by the former husbands before they turned philanderers, it would hardly have been politic of her to inform the newcomers that they will be consorting with women who have murdered once (and could conceivably do so once more).

Thus line 820 leads not to a description of how the Lemniades slew every male. Instead there comes next a fictitious παρὰ προσδοκίαν: the "overwhelming boldness" instilled into the women through divine agency consists in the issuance of an ultimatum to the husbands. The latter must either mend their ways or betake themselves, along with their concubines, *to some other place*. It seems to me that Hypsipyle's words, ἠέ πηι ἄλληι...ἀφορμηθέντες ἵκοιντο

[1] See 614f., cited above, p. 62.

[2] The future progeny of Argonautic liaison with the Lemniades may similarly be considered technically illegitimate. But their introduction into the world is a necessity; that of the bastard issue of the Lemnian men and Thracian women was not. Perhaps Roux, op. cit. (above, p. 15, n. 3) p. 164 (cf. p. 178), goes too far in claiming that Jason's liaison with Hypsipyle constituted "une union sacrée" and that Hypsipyle herself should be regarded as an "image de la grande déesse."

[3] I say "ambiguously" because ὑπέρβιον...θάρσος could conceivably be interpreted as "wanton temerity." Normally θάρσος has a better connotation than θράσος. See LSJ s.vv. But in the present instance metrical exigencies obviate the use of the latter form.

(822f.), are no less laden with ominous double meaning than were the Euripidean Medea's εὐδαιμονοῖτον, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ (*Medea* 1073).[1]

Yet once again the narrator passes from ambiguous utterance, which at least hints at the truth, to unalloyed fiction. She closes her account with the statement that the Lemniad men chose the second alternative and resettled in Thrace, whose snowy plowland they inhabit still (I 825f.).[2]

XVIII

Apollonius differs from his predecessors in making the Lemniades violent in retrospect alone.[3] The same is true of Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*. Yet in recounting the manner of the Argonautic sojourn on the island Apollonius prefers indirection to brutal frankness, and thus establishes a pattern distinct not only from that followed by earlier Greek authors, but also from that which his Roman emulator was to choose. Instead of affirming simply that the Argonauts copulated with the Lemniades (ἐμίγησαν αὐταῖς,[4] or the like) he informs us of hospitable entertainment for the former at the homes of the latter (849).[5] He informs us further, by way of explanation, that Aphrodite "aroused sweet desire" for Hephaestus' sake (850f.)[6] in order that Lemnos might be replenished with males

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[1] Cf. above, p. 76, n. 2.

[2] Note the aetiological ring of the combination of ἔτι νῦν περ and a verb in the present tense (here ναιετάουσιν).

[3] Sophocles, according to a scholium on *Arg.* I 769ff., brings the women of Lemnos into open attack on the Argonauts. Cf. above, p. 63, n. 4. In Aeschylus' lost *Hypsipyle*, on the other hand, warfare was averted, once the Argonauts took an oath to copulate with those who greeted them. See also n. 4 below.

[4] I have conflated this terminology from the Aeschylean fragment mentioned above, n. 3, and from Herodorus apud Schol. Ap.Rh. I 769-773: respectively μέχρι λαβεῖν ὅρκον παρ' αὐτῶν ἀποβάντας μιγήσεσθαι αὐταῖς (cited from the Scholia Florentina: the Parisian recension offers slightly more detail, though the plot remains the same) and ἐμίγησαν οἱ Ἀργοναῦται ταῖς Λημνίαις. Cf. the blunt proposals of Valerius' Polyxo:

> ...Venus ipsa uolens dat corpora iungi,
> dum uires utero maternaque sufficit aetas. [II 324f.]

Concerning the Apollonian Polyxo's more subtly worded advice see above, pp. 66f.

[5] So I interpret ξεινοῦσθαι. Cf. above, p. 72, n. 1.

[6] The sanctity of the island to this deity in particular is noted by the scholiast. A. Köhnken, *Apollonios Rhodios und Theokrit* (= *Hypomnemata* XII) (Göttingen, 1965) p. 44, n. 3, observes that ἐπὶ γλυκὺν ἵμερον ὦρσεν constitutes the only *direct* reference to love in the entire narrative of the Lemnian episode. Still, there is a hint already at line 779 (cited above, p. 70, along with the scholiast's comment), where the participle ἱμείρουσα occurs.

in the future (ὄφρα κεν αὖτις / ναίηται μετόπισθεν ἀκήρατος ἀνδράσι Λῆμνος) (851f.).[1]

The same reticence will persist throughout Apollonius' narration of the actual liaison between the Lemniades and their visitors. In preference for indirection[2] I see a continuance of the attitude which leads Apollonius, like Pindar, to expurgate what he finds revolting.[3]

On the other hand, Gilbert Lawall may be right in arguing that in this segment of the poem "the scene teems with sexual imagery, involving such symbols as plowing, sowing of seed, sleek cattle, and double gates."[4] If so, this would be yet another example of Apollonius' resorting to the indirect as opposed to the direct approach. What I find objectionable, however, is the supposition that Jason and his associates, whose gentlemanliness Lawall stresses again and again, turn suddenly into beasts as soon as they are led off to the homes of the Lemniades. It seems to me that when he says "Jason *mates* with the queen" or "there is not the slightest trace of romance or love in a spiritual sense" or "the city of Myrina is, in fact, *not unlike a brothel*,"[5] he confuses Apollonius' treatment of the episode with that of Valerius. I have already taken account of the younger poet's greater frankness.[6] What Apollonius accomplishes instead is the elevation of the liaison of Hypsipyle and Jason above the level of mere biology. Though, to quote Lawall's words, "there is no falling in love at first sight, no torment of unrequited passion,"[7] a

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[1] The theme of repopulation will be stressed again in a mocking reference by Heracles, who, along with a few comrades, has stayed behind to guard the ship and who does not hesitate to employ rather blunt language (blunter, at any rate, than the Apollonian norm now under discussion) to shame Jason and the rest into quitting their dalliance. See especially lines 872-874:

> ἴομεν αὖτις ἕκαστοι ἐπὶ σφεά· τὸν δ' ἐνὶ λέκτροις
> Ὑψιπύλης εἰᾶτε πανήμερον, εἰσόκε Λῆμνον
> παισὶν ἐπανδρώσηι, μεγάλη τέ ἑ βάξις ἔχηισιν.

[2] Cf. Köhnken, loc. cit. (above, p. 78, n. 6) ad fin.

[3] That "Dezenz" proves a salient characteristic of Apollonian narration is asserted by A. Körte in the midst of a discussion devoted to the Lemnian episode itself. See *Die hellenistische Dichtung*² (ed. P. J. Händel: with regard to the English translation of the first edition see p. 57, n. 4 above) (Stuttgart, 1961) p. 139. Cf. Faerber, op. cit. (above, p. 3, n. 1) p. 64, also p. 18 and n. 1.

[4] Op. cit. (above, p. 44, n. 4) p. 150. In the last connection Lawall takes note even of the supposed etymology of the Queen's name.

[5] Pp. 150f. Emphases are mine.

[6] See above, p. 78 and n. 4.

[7] Loc. cit. (above, n. 5).

bond of sympathetic understanding is established. And it is destined to persist long after physical contact has come to an end.

The analogy of the brothel is suspect on yet another count. Let us grant that the divinely ordained goal of the union of Lemniades and Argonauts is exactly what Apollonius says it is: the repopulation of the island.[1] What brothel has ever functioned with procreation as its *raison d'être*?[2]

XIX

So far as Anthos Ardizzoni is concerned, the episode really ends with the "delicate scene" in which the women of Lemnos, like a swarm of bees, issue forth from the city and surround the departing heroes (879ff.).[3] He finds the parting of Jason and Hypsipyle (886-910) to be rather cold and conventional by contrast. Nor is he moved by the "measured oratorical limpidity" of the lovers' last words to one another.

Such criticisms, though not utterly without merit, prove compelling in the end only if one is as committed as Ardizzoni to canons of literary appropriateness inherited from nineteenth century Romanticism. It is this bias which dictates lavish praises for Apollonius' portrayal of Medea-in-love, disdain for practically everything else in the *Argonautica*, not excluding the representation of Jason's earlier love-affair with Hypsipyle.[4]

XX

Actually the Jason-Hypsipyle relationship can hardly be said to have been "represented" at all. What intervenes between the first

[1] See I 851f. (cited above, p. 79 ad init.).

[2] Criticism of Lawall's analysis has been voiced also by E. S. Phinney, Jr. See p. 330, n. 11 of "Narrative Unity in the *Argonautica*, the Medea-Jason Romance," *TAPA* XCVIII (1967) 327-341.

[3] *Apollonio Rodio* (Catania, 1930) p. 118. Ardizzoni thinks that Apollonius has done more than merely imitate *Iliad* B 87-93 and that similarly Virgil (see *Aen.* VI 706-709) learned from both his Greek predecessors. O. Damsté, *Adversaria ad Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (Diss., Utrecht: publ. Rotterdam, 1922) p. 20, juxtaposes the Virgilian and Apollonian similes without comment. Elsewhere, however, he cites a number of parallels wherein he finds Apollonius' treatment preferable to Virgil's. Concerning the simile which illustrates the effect of Jason's approach on a feminine multitude (774ff.) see above, p. 70. ad init.

[4] Ardizzoni simply preserves in exaggerated form certain attitudes toward Apollonius which have become more or less enshrined. The same clichés have been iterated so often that it would require an inordinate amount of space to list all who have contributed to their continuance. Fränkel, for one, has had some new thoughts. The same may be said happily for Lawall and Phinney.

meeting, marked by paired speeches (793-833; 836-841), and the farewell, where paired speeches (888-898; 900-909) are once again the rule and where the Lemniad monarch once again takes the initiative, must be left largely to the imagination of the reader. Apollonius furnishes no detail concerning the immediate sequel to Jason's return to the palace (853f.), though the kind of activity in which he and his hostess are engaged (as are other Argonauts and their hostesses) clearly has to do with procreation. This is indicated, again in a sort of oblique way, at the close of Hypsipyle's final speech:

> μνώεο μήν, ἀπεών περ ὁμῶς καὶ νόστιμος ἤδη,
> Ὑψιπύλης· λίπε δ' ἧμιν ἔπος, τό κεν ἐξανύσαιμι
> πρόφρων, ἢν ἄρα δή με θεοὶ δώωσι τεκέσθαι. [896-898][1]

A comparable feminine plea for remembrance will be voiced more than once in the course of the extended initial private meeting between Jason and Hypsipyle's successor, Medea:

> μνώεο δ', ἢν ἄρα δή ποθ' ὑπότροπος οἴκαδ' ἵκηαι,
> οὔνομα Μηδείης... [III 1069f.][2]

> ἀλλ' οἶον τύνη μὲν ἐμεῦ, ὅτ' Ἰωλκὸν ἵκηαι,
> μνώεο... [1109f.]

In both speeches the enamored maiden declares that she too will remember (μνήσομαι) (1071; 1111), even though this conflicts with filial loyalty (καὶ ἐμῶν ἀέκητι τοκήων) (1110).

Note that I have called her a "maiden." Unlike Hypsipyle, who yielded up her virginity after having met and fallen in love with Jason, Medea is not destined to share a bed with her lover until they have been properly wed.[3] And the two sons so pathetically portrayed

[1] The proviso, "If the gods grant," is not only formulaic in the Homeric poems; it also indicates a way of thought based upon the assumption of a strong degree of divine control over human affairs. Similarly, if one of Homer's heroes shows signs of mental aberration, the more usual statement is not "He went mad," but "The gods took his wits away."

[2] Stoessl op. cit. (above, p. 10, n. 1) p. 46, n. 34, finds a parallel to Medea's plea even in the words of Homer's Nausicaä (μνήσῃ ἐμεῖ(ο)) (*Od.* θ 462). The language may be similar; yet Nausicaä's relationship to Odysseus only faintly resembles that of Medea to Jason.

[3] Deficient though the ceremony described in Bk. IV may have been (hastily improvised, no parent present to "give the bride away"—all of which bodes ill for the future), it still qualifies as a wedding.

in Euripides' tragedy will not even be born until Jason and Medea have settled in Greece.

XXI

Thus only the first part of what I have cited from Hypsipyle's final speech has its analogue in the speeches which Apollonius has assigned to Medea. An analogue to the ensuing reference to possible offspring is to be found rather in the mouth of Virgil's Dido as she addresses to departing Aeneas the following plaintive utterance:

> saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset
> ante fugam *suboles*, si quis mihi paruolus aula
> luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret,
> non equidem omnino capta ac deserta uiderer.
> [*Aen.* IV 327-330]

Consider how much stronger is the note of pathos sounded by the Virgilian heroine. But her plight proves worse than Hypsipyle's in at least two respects:

[1] By inaugurating a liaison with Aeneas she has shown herself to have been unfaithful to the memory of her deceased husband Sychaeus.

[2] Hypsipyle's relationship with Jason will be productive of offspring;[1] Dido's with Aeneas will not, as Dido herself has recognized.

Throughout Bk. IV of the *Aeneid*, in fact, Virgil has made the story of Dido and Aeneas much more dramatic, much more compelling than Apollonius' story of Hypsipyle and Jason. Yet, paradoxically, the Alexandrian poet is Virgil's mentor even in this. For the love-story narrated by the latter owes much also to the highly lauded portrayal of enamored Medea's psychological and emotional state.[2] In both cases the heroine's infatuation proves largely a product of divine interference with human destinies. In both the

[1] Their names are mentioned not by Apollonius, but by earlier or later authors. See above, p. 75, n. 3, also p. 31 ad fin. and n. 2. Apollonius supplies, through Hypsipyle's speech and Jason's, only the fond expectation that such progeny will be produced.

[2] "Lauded *ad nauseam*," I should have said. See p. 80 and n. 4 above concerning iteration of clichés on the part of scholars. In my second volume, however, I shall explore Medea's psyche—hopefully without preformed notions.

heroïne, tormented by a conflict of loyalty,[1] seeks out her sister as confidante.[2]

XXII

Yet if Dido's situation is worse than that of Hypsipyle, it is worse than that of Medea also. The Colchian princess, having broken with her family by virtue of rendering aid to Jason's effort to capture the Golden Fleece, begs to be taken along on the return-voyage of the Argo. She succeeds both in boarding the ship and, despite some sluggishness on the latter's part, even in marrying Jason himself.[3] Dido cannot do likewise. She must stay behind and rule Carthage, just as Aeneas, reminded of his duty through the apparition of Mercury in a dream,[4] must sail away to complete his destiny in Italy.

XXIII

The theme of separate destinies brings us back, however, to the original analogy between Dido and Hypsipyle. Though both are forced to relinquish a lover, both remain monarchs, with a responsibility to continue as before to exercise leadership. But all the strain and disappointment and remorse to which she has been subjected prove too much for Dido. She can find release only in suicide.

[1] As I have noted above (see p. 74f), Hypsipyle's dilemma had to do not with loving Jason, but with sparing her father earlier even as the other Lemniades had resolved to exterminate every male. Phinney, loc. cit. (above, p. 74, n. 2), observes that Hypsipyle "feels no guilt about her liaison with Jason" and "is never driven by the fits of hatred which intermittently break the serenity of Dido's very deep love for Aeneas." He finds too that in some respects Dido's situation is really more comparable to that of Apollonius' other and more central heroïne, Medea. In fact, he contends that Dido's deceased husband Sychaeus, like Medea's still living father Aeëtes, functions "as the focal point of...guilt feelings" (p. 358). For the prevailing view with regard to the nature of Dido's *culpa* see the authorities (Heinze among them) cited at p. 357, n. 14 of Phinney's article. There are other flaws, of course, in the personality of Dido as Virgil portrays her. See below, pp. 83ff. and p. 84, n. 5; p. 85, n. 1.

[2] Concerning this correspondence see also Phinney, ult. loc. cit. (above, n. 1).

[3] With regard to the makeshift ceremony see above, p. 81, n. 3.

[4] This divine intervention corresponds rather to Heracles' chiding reminder that it is time for Jason to quit the company of Hypsipyle. Cf. *Arg.* I 865ff. and especially 872-874 (cited above, p. 79, n. 1 ad fin.). See also p. 46, n. 1 above.

Hypsipyle, on the other hand, lives to carry on her rule over Lemnos and to nurture Jason's sons.[1]

Though she appears in an epic rather than in a drama, Virgil's Dido ranks as one of the most truly tragic in ancient literature. Hence, despite the fact that he has said some kind things about Apollonius—even at Virgil's expense—I am not altogether satisfied with the following statement of Gilbert Murray:

> But the Medea and Jason of the Argonautica are at once *more natural* than their copies, the Dido and Aeneas of the Aeneid.[2] *The wild love of the witchmaiden sits curiously on the queen and organiser of industrial Carthago*; and the two qualities which form an essential part of Jason—the *weakness* which makes him a traitor,[3] and the *deliberate gentleness* which contrasts him with Medea—seem incongruous in the father of Rome . . .[4]

I should agree that the wildness of a Medea does not at all suit a "queen and organiser." Yet Dido herself begins to comprehend ultimately the anomaly of what she has become.[5] Suicide is her desperate remedy for the situation. Medea will cope with frustration and chagrin rather by contriving the death of others.[6]

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1 Concerning the pre- and post-Apollonian sources of this latter piece of information see especially p. 75, n. 3 above.

2 Cf. Otis' declaration, op. cit. (above, p. 3, n. 5) p. 90, that Apollonius exhibited „greater naturalness or spontaneity" than did Virgil and that the Medea-episode "is, in its way, a masterpiece of both narrative and poetry, possessing a freshness and vitality that Virgil never approached and which his style did not permit him to approach." Otis nevertheless makes clear in ensuing discussion that he much prefers the *Aeneid* to the *Argonautica*.

3 Could it be that Murray has allowed his long-standing familiarity with the Jason of Euripides to lead him into exaggerating the flaws in the character of Apollonius' generally more laudable hero?

4 Emphasis mine. Cited from *A History of Ancient Greek Literature* (London, 1917) pp. 381f. The same statement (actually considerably more than I have chosen to quote here) is reprinted with approval by Damsté, op. cit. (above, p. 80, n. 3) pp. 11f.

5 On the earlier propensity of Dido for "self-delusion" see especially p. 342 of R. A. Hornsby's "The Virgilian Simile as Means of Judgment," *CJ* LX (1964-1965) 337-344.

6 I have in mind chiefly the Medea of Euripides. She has done away with Pelias (through the unwitting agency of his daughters) already before the action of the Athenian dramatist's tragedy begins and will in swift succession have brought about the deaths of Creon and his daughter as well as of her own two sons. Apollonius' Medea, by contrast, is involved directly in one murder only, that of her brother Apsyrtus, and even then only in collaboration with Jason. The incident will be examined more closely in the second volume of this study. Concerning hints in the *Argonautica* that Pelias will likewise succumb one day to Medea's plotting see Ch. II above.

XXIV

What Murray has said about Virgil's Dido may offer a clue nonetheless to the rationale behind Apollonius' somewhat tepid handling of the Jason-Hypsipyle relationship. It seems to me that Virgil has combined in his Dido both a wild, passionate spirit strongly oriented toward revenge and the sobriety, sanity, and even mercy appropriate to a conscientious chief executive. Tension between these two incompatible natures pulls Dido ultimately toward destruction.[1]

The same conflicting characteristics are kept apart by Apollonius, who ascribes one set to Medea, the other to Hypsipyle. Both girls may blush demurely at the sight of Jason and keep their maidenly eyes averted for a proper interval.[2] Yet what transpires within Hypsipyle's psyche is vastly different from what transpires within Medea's. Perhaps I am giving Apollonius too much credit. Nevertheless it appears to me that he has operated in accordance with a rule of literary economy which dictates that the relationship of Jason and Medea be crucial and climactic, since the winning of the Golden Fleece depends so thoroughly upon it, that that of Jason and Hypsipyle be significant (particularly for Lemnos' future), yet only incidental to the larger scheme of the epic. It would have been inartistic to allow equal emphasis to both.

Consequently Apollonius *subordinates* the Hypsipyle-narrative to the Medea-narrative. Not only does he play down the dramatic potentialities of the former—politeness moves to the fore instead:

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1 M. C. Covi, "Dido in Virgil's *Aeneid*," *CJ* LX (1964-1965) 57-60, finds that Aeneas' regular epithet *pius* may be applied to Dido as well. She finds too that *infelix* ("illstarred," "unfortunate," "unhappy": cf. the Greek terms δυσάμμορος (or δύσμορος) and δύστηνος, discussed above, pp. 40f. and nn.: see also above, p. 42 and n. 1, below, Ch. IX), regularly attached to Dido's name, is applicable also to Aeneas:

> And when all is told, we find their epithets may be used interchangeably. One implies the other. Their *pietas* precludes their love. [p. 57]

And just as Aeneas neglects his duties as a result of the affair with Dido, so Dido, whose work of building Carthage has temporarily come to a halt, "like him," to quote Mrs. Covi once again, "...is abdicating her responsibilities as leader" (p. 58).

2 Cf. above, pp. 73.

even when she sheds a tear, Hypsipyle does so decorously—but also fills it with hints and foreshadowings of the more impassioned relationship which is to come.[1]

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[1] Phinney, op. cit. (above, p. 10, n. 3) p. 92, argues similarly but directs his notice rather to the connection between the Lemnian episode and events which lie outside and beyond the *Argonautica*:

> The Hypsipyle story, then, is less a doublet of Medea's desertion than a foreshadowing of the Corinthian story [sc. that which is represented in Euripides' *Medea*: cf. the oft retold narrative of how Theseus abandoned Ariadne at Naxos—likewise termed a precedent by Phinney, as by Duckworth (concerning the latter's observations see above, p. 69, n. 2)] which Apollonius does not relate, but which his readers know.

In Medea's case even the averted glance at III 1008 (cited above, p. 73), innocent though it may be in itself, portends something not so innocent, something which occurs not outside the plot of the *Argonautica*, but in Bk. IV. Having lured her brother Apsyrtus into a *tête-à-tête* (concerning which see also p. 69, n. 2 above), she turns away as Jason springs from ambush to carry out the planned assassination (464ff.).

CHAPTER SIX

ΠΑΡΑ ΔΟΛΙΟΣΙΝ

I

The Dolionian episode (I 936-1152) may be analyzed in terms of a number of narratives of individual incidents. The whole is interspersed with descriptions, similes, aetiological or etymological explanations (sometimes coïncidental with reports of miracles, sometimes not), even a Catalogue or two. That Apollonius, no less than Ovid, utilizes pairing as a structural principle[1]—for it is essential to the Hellenistic poet's plot that there be *two* Argonautic arrivals in Dolionia and *two* departures, *two* sets of sacrificial rites, *two* mountain climbs, *two* armed clashes[2]—will be shown quite clearly in a breakdown of the episode into sections and subsections:[3]

[1] Introduction: the island and its inhabitants (936-952)

[a] The island itself (936-941)[4]

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[1] Paired elements are particularly noteworthy in the *Metamorphoses*: e.g. the competing tapestries of Minerva and Arachne (VI 70ff. and 103ff.), the opposed speeches of Ajax and Ulysses (XIII 6ff. and 128ff.). With regard to paired elements in the *Argonautica* (where they are not always laid side by side) see above, Ch. III, also below and Chs. VII and XII especially.

[2] E. Fitch, however (see pp. 54ff. of his "Apollonius Rhodius and Cyzicus," *AJP* XXXIII (1912) 43-56), attributes these dualities rather to Apollonius' close adherence to his chief source for local matters, the historian Deï(l)ochus. With regard to an instance of disagreement between poet and historian see p. 93, n. 2 below.

[3] For a somewhat different breakdown see Hurst, op. cit. (above, p. 9, n. 1) pp. 62ff. and Schema #5 (in the endpapers). Hurst prefers to start at 910ff. (departure from Lemnos by oar). Thus he is able to include the stop-over at Samothrace (915ff.)—or Island of Atlas' daughter Electra, as Apollonius puts it in his typically Alexandrian way—and the skirting of Imbros en route to the Propontis (922ff.).

[4] Apollonius' use of the terms νῆσος (936 etc.) and ἰσθμός (938) may well indicate awareness that what in historical times was a peninsula had once been separated from the Asiatic mainland by a narrow waterway. Cf. a Laurentian scholium (d) ad loc.:

> ἔστι δὲ χερρόνησος, ἐφ' ἧς κεῖται ἡ Κυζικηνῶν πόλις· νῆσον δὲ αὐτὴν ἔφη διὰ τὸ πρότερον αὐτὴν οὖσαν νῆσον ὕστερον συνῆφθαι τῆι ἠπείρωι.

Concerning other ancient testimonia see W. Ruge s.v. "Kyzikos," *RE* XII, 1 228ff. The controversy over whether Cyzicus was or was not always a peninsula continues into modern times, with T. Reinach arguing strongly for

[b] θαῦμα α′: The Giants (Γηγενέες) (942-946)[1]

[c] The Doliones (947-952)

[2] Among the Doliones (I) (953-984)

[a] Arrival at Fair Haven (Καλὸς Λιμήν) (953f.)[2]

[b] αἴτιον α′: The enshrined anchor at the Temple of Jasonian Athena (Ἰησονίη Ἀθήνη) (955-960)

[c] Reception of the Argonauts by Cyzicus and his followers (961-965)

[d] Sacrificial rites at the altar of Apollo Debarker (Ἐκβάσιος Ἀπόλλων) (966f.)[3]

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the former conclusion (see his "île ou presqu'île?" *REG* VII (1894) 48-51), while most scholars affirm the opposite. See, for example, J. Marquardt, *Cyzicus und sein Gebiet* (Berlin, 1836); R. de Rustafjaell, "Cyzicus," *JHS* XXII (1902) 174-189 and Pl. XI (a sketch-map of the area); F. W. Hasluck, "An Inscribed Basis from Cyzicus," ibid. pp. 126-134; *Cyzicus* (Cambridge, 1910). Delage, op. cit. (above, p. 3, n. 3) p. 98, offers the novel suggestion that Cyzicus was an island in remote antiquity, a peninsula in Scylax' time, an island once again when Apollonius composed his poem.

[1] The terms Γίγαντες and Γηγενεῖς (Γηγενέες in epic hexameter) are employed more or less interchangeably by a number of ancient authors. Apollonius, however, utilizes the latter almost exclusively. The sole exception is a reference not to the fierce neighbors of the Doliones, but to the Σπαρτοί, whom Jason must first create (by sowing the dragon's teeth which Aeëtes supplies him), then destroy (by cutting them down, once they have sprung up fully armed). Only at III 1054 are the Σπαρτοί called Γίγαντες. Elsewhere they are Γηγενέες (III 1048; 1338; 1347; 1355; 1380; 1391; IV 365; 1034) or else Γαιηγενὴς λαός (III 1186).

[2] No aetiology of the name is attempted. Similarly at 941 Apollonius introduces "Bear Mountain" (Ἄρκτων ὄρος, according to Hoelzlin—cf. 1150: οὔρεσιν Ἄρκτων—the mss. read Ἄρκτον) with no more explanation than that this was the name employed by persons dwelling in the vicinity. The triad of conflicting surmises noted by the scholiast is hardly worth quoting. At any rate, in enumerating αἴτια within the Dolionian episode I have acknowledged only those instances wherein the poet himself has attempted to be explicative. Hence my figure (ten altogether) falls considerably short of the *seventeen* (!) listed by Stoessl, op. cit. (above, p. 10, n. 1) pp. 24f.

[3] Here too express aetiology is omitted, possibly because the connection between the epithet and what has just happened (arrival and coming ashore of the Argonauts) is so clear that further explanation becomes unnecessary. Note that a sacrifice to Apollo Ἐκβάσιος will be carried out at the time of the landing in Mysia (1186: cited below, p. 132). Note too that the construction of a "shoreside altar" (βωμὸς ἐπάκτιος) to Apollo "Embarker" (Ἐμβάσιος) was prescribed before the departure of the Argonauts from Pagasae (359ff.). At 402ff., where the carrying out of this prescription is indicated, the same language recurs with a hint of the aetiological added. The altar remains ἐπάκτιος (403); Apollo himself is not only Ἐμβάσιος (404), just as before, but also Ἄκτιος ("Shoresider") (ibid.). With regard to these titles see also L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford, 1869-1909) IV 145 and n. 137.

[e] Cyzicus and Cleite (968-979)

[f] Exchanges of information (980-984)

[3] Ascent of Mount Dindymus (I) and battle (I: Argonauts and Giants) (985-1011)

[a] Climb instituted for the sake of territorial reconnaisance (985f.)

[b] αἴτια β′ and γ′: Diked Haven (Χυτὸς Λιμήν) (986-990) and Jasonian Roadstead (Ἰησονίη Ὁδός) (988)

[c] εἰκὼν α′: GIANTS : ARGONAUTS = HUNTSMEN : TRAPPED BEAST (989-991)

[d] A task for Heracles (ἀέθλιον Ἡρακλῆϊ) (992-997)

[e] Open warfare and Argonautic victory (998-1002)

[f] εἰκὼν β′: ARGONAUTS : GIANTS = LOGGERS : WATER-SOAKED TIMBERS (1003ff.)

[4] Among the Doliones (II) and battle (II: Doliones and Argonauts) (1012-1052)

[a] Embarkation and Departure (1012-1014)

[b] Storms necessitate a whole day's sailing, carry the Argonauts back whence they came (1015-1018)[1]

[c] Debarkation by night (1018f.) and consequent error with regard to the island's identity (1021f.)

[d] αἴτιον δ′: Sacred Rock (Ἱερὴ Πέτρη) (1019f.)

[e] Doliones, suspecting a Macrieian invasion attempt, take up arms (1022-1025)

[f] εἰκὼν γ′: ARMED CLASH : BRUSHFIRE (1026ff.)

[g] Cyzicus killed by Jason, as was fated (1030-1039)

[h] κατάλογος α′: Slayers and slain (1039-1047)

[i] αἴτιον ε′: Honors for the latter continue to this day (1047f.)

[j] εἰκὼν δ′: DOLIONES : ARGONAUTS = TIMOROUS DOVES : FLEET HAWKS (1049ff.)

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[1] Does Apollonius adhere to tradition in this instance? Or has he freely invented? See especially A. Hurst, "Le retour nocturne des Argonautes," *MH* XXI (1964) 232-237. See also p. 93, n. 2 below.

[k] News of the defeat reaches town (1051f.)

[5] Aftermath (1053-1077)

[a] ἀναγνώρισις: Mistake revealed at dawn (1053-1056)

[b] Three days' mourning (1051f.)

[c] αἴτιον ϛ': Monument remains to commemorate funeral observances for Cyzicus (1058-1062)[1]

[d] αἴτιον ζ' = θαῦμα β': Name Cleite applied to a local spring purportedly formed from tears shed by Nymphs bewailing the suicide of Cyzicus' widow (1063-1069)[2]

[e] αἴτιον η': Present practice of Ionian inhabitants of the city of Cyzicus (annual grinding of grain at a public mill) traceable back to the failure of the Doliones to prepare food properly in their time of great bereavement (1070-1077)

[6] Omen and interpretation (1078-1106)

[a] Embarkation delayed twelve days by storms (1078-1080)[3]

[b] θαῦμα γ': While others sleep, Acastus and Mopsus hurry to inform Jason about the talking kingfisher who issues prophecies (1080-1091)

[c] Mopsus' explanatory speech (1092-1102)

[d] Message relayed to the other Argonauts (1103-1106)

[7] Ascent of Mount Dindymus (II) (1107-1149)

[1] Mention of the monument is about as close as Apollonius will come to acknowledging something so obvious as the eponymous relationship between Cyzicus, King of the Doliones, and Cyzicus, the latter-day πόλις.

[2] More specifically the θαῦμα may be classified as an ἀλλοίωσις. Clearly Ovid's manner is already forecast here. With the transformation described at 1067f. cf., for example, the conversion into amber of tears shed by Phaëthon's grieving sisters, themselves already metamorphosed into trees (*Met.* II 364f.). Elsewhere Ovid tells of the dripping rock-formation which once was tearful Niobe (VI 310-312) or of the spring Byblis, formed from the tears of a distraught maiden of the same name (IX 662-665).

[3] Does the number possibly reflect Homeric precedent? Cf. *Iliad* A 425, where it is stated that Zeus was not expected back on Olympus until the *twelfth* dawn (so at 493f., where the actual trip is reported) after the start of his visit among the Ethiopians. An even longer delay (forty days) occasioned by Etesian Winds keeps Apollonius' Argonauts idle in Phineus' realm. See II 498ff. and p. 59, n. 2 above.

[a] Cattle driven to the summit; a few Argonauts remain behind to guard the ship (1107-1111)

[b] κατάλογος β': Details of the panorama (1112-1116)

[c] Effigy of Rhea carved by Argus I; altar constructed from small stones (1117-1123)

[d] Sacrificial rites to the Idaean Mother (Rhea) and to the Cretan Dactyls (1123-1131)

[e] αἴτιον θ': Present Phrygian practice of propitiating Rhea with the noise of percussion instruments possibly traceable back to the shield dance performed by the Argonauts (1132-1139)

[f] θαῦμα δ': Plea successful: goddess signifies her favorable response by causing trees to bourgeon with fruit and blossoms to spring up in the grass at the same time that wild beasts come forth gently from their lairs (1140-1145)

[g] αἴτιον ι' = θαῦμα ε': Jasonian Spring (Ἰησονίη Κρήνη) (1145-1149)

[8] Conclusion (1150-1152)

[a] Banquet in honor of Rhea held at Bear Mountain (1150f.)

[b] Winds slacken: Argonauts row off at dawn (1151f.)

Obviously in such a scheme some elements carry more weight than others. In examining Apollonius' Dolionian narrative, therefore, I shall bypass what seems to be of lesser concern. There is really no need to comment on every simile or αἴτιον. In a number of individual instances my outline ought to be sufficiently self-explanatory.

II

The expressions φιλότητι...ἀντήσαντες (961f.) and ἐΰξείνως ἀρέσαντο (963)[1] make precise the manner in which the Doliones and Cyzicus himself greeted the Argonauts on their initial as opposed to their disastrous second arrival. Hospitality, then, is the keynote here, as it has been already at Lemnos and as it will be again and again in the course of Apollonius' poem. That the same may be said also of the *Odyssey* and of the *Aeneid* should hardly surprise us. All three

[1] But see the fuller context cited below, p. 92.

epics concern the adventures of persons who, being absent from home, must hope for favorable and generous reception wherever they go. For wherever they go they are simultaneously strangers (ξένοι or, where the metre requires, ξεῖνοι) and guests (ξένοι or ξεῖνοι once again).[1]

Yet in Apollonius' Dolionian episode there occurs a deviation from the Homeric pattern of the hospitable.[2] Homer's hosts prefer to feed the stranger-guest before asking who he is, whence he has come, and what business has brought him hither. Menelaus, for example, becomes extremely annoyed with his retainer Eteoneus for having kept two youths—they happen to be Telemachus, son of Odysseus, and Nestor's youngest son, Peisistratus—waiting at the gate while he sought instructions as to whether they should be admitted (*Od.* δ 20-36). Once the strangers have been brought into his presence (and have thus become guests), Menelaus bids them eat first: he will inquire into their identities afterwards (60-62).

Telemachus himself had behaved similarly when visited by the goddess Athena disguised as mortal Mentes. Only after the meal did the youth ask such questions as τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; (α 170) and πόθι τοι πόλις ἠδὲ τοκῆες; (ibid.). Not so the Doliones; their friendly welcome is not forthcoming until they have learned the credentials of the newcomers:

> ...ὅτε στόλον ἠδὲ γενέθλην
> ἔκλυον οἵτινες εἶεν, εὐξείνως ἀρέσαντο. [*Arg.* I 962f.]

The scholiast explains the shift from wariness to enthusiasm by noting that the Doliones, being themselves Thessalian colonists (ἄποικοι Θετταλῶν), considered the Argonauts to be their kin.

III

I detect, however, at the same time a more ominous import in the reversal of the Homeric norm. What I see here is a foreshadowing of the paradoxical turn of events which will culminate in the slaughter of Cyzicus and the Doliones at the hands of the very

[1] Cf. above, p. 72 and n. 1, with respect to "the dual status of the Argonauts at Lemnos."

[2] Homer himself provides some notable deviations. Polyphemus, the Cyclops, who instead of feeding his visitors feeds *on* them, proves a very poor host indeed. The suitors of Penelope, coming uninvited to squander absent Odysseus' substance, show how no guest ought ever to behave.

persons whom they had befriended.[1] When the Argonauts return unexpectedly by night, the Doliones do not extend renewed hospitable greetings: that is hardly their way. But it is hardly their way mainly because they fear external attack. Suspicious of unidentified strangers, the followers of Cyzicus question all who come from abroad before deciding whether to greet them with kindness or with hostility. However, inasmuch as at the time of the second landing only one enemy (the Giants) have been eliminated, while another (the Macrieis) remain a threat,[2] inasmuch also as darkness both prevents ready recognition of the Argonauts as friends[3] and multiplies the fear and suspicion to which the Doliones are understandably prey, the latter without waiting to find out who precisely have come launch their ill-fated resistance (1022-1025).[4]

[1] Phinney, op. cit. (above, p. 10, n. 3) pp. 153f., has compiled a list of instances in the *Argonautica* in which "cheerful moments...are...used by the poet as a bright foil against which the dark scenes which follow show up darker and more pathetic." He considers the unhappy sequels to seemingly auspicious landings in Mysia and in Mariandynia (cf. the discussions below, Chs. VII and XII respectively) as well as the "tempered" happiness of the Argonauts as they reach the island of the Phaeacians on the return voyage (pp. 153f.).

[2] These practitioners of "Pelasgic War" (see line 1024) are said by the scholiast to have come originally from Euboea. Valerius Flaccus refers to the foe simply as Pelasgi. That he has taken his cue from Apollonius is clear to Langen, for one. But Apollonius himself appears to have introduced some modifications into what he has taken over from earlier sources. See Knorr, op. cit. (above, p. 18, n. 4) pp. 19ff., who cites approvingly the observations of Weichert, op. cit. (above, p. 44, n. 4) p. 263, to the effect that those whom the poet classifies as Giants were classified by Deï(l)ochus rather as Thessalians. According to one tradition, a group of Thessalians had pushed out the earlier Pelasgic inhabitants of the area. Combining, collating, and smoothing, Apollonius brings his Argonauts into conflict both with Deï(l)ochus' Thessalians (replaced by his own Giants) and with his own Thessalian immigrants (= the Doliones), while keeping close at hand, as a threatening menace rather than as actual combattants those Pelasgi whom he prefers to call Macrieis. The identity of the Apollonian enemies of the Doliones is brought under discussion in an Appendix (pp. 222-225) to J. L. Myres' "A History of the Pelasgian Theory," *JHS* XXVII (1907) 170ff. On conflicting traditions and sources see Fitch and Hurst, locc. citt. (above, p. 87, n. 2 and 89, n. 1 respectively). See also the suggestion of Roux cited below, n. 4; and see p. 99, n. 3 below.

[3] Similarly darkness prevents the Argonauts from realizing that three members of the crew have been left behind in Mysia at the time of their midnight departure. Cf. below, p. 103, also p. 108, n. 3 and Ch. VII.

[4] "La tragique confusion faite par les Doliones entre les Argonautes et une armée 'pélasge' d'invasion," suggests Roux, op. cit. (above, p. 15, n. 3) p. 56, n. 1, "semble bien refléter une époque où les côtes de Grèce et d'Asie étaient en état d'alerte contre les Pélasges."

IV

In the subsection of the Dolionian episode concerned with introducing Cyzicus and Cleite as individuals the poet tells us first that the King himself furnished provisions to his visitors in their need (δευομένοισιν) (968).[1] He acknowledges also an hitherto unmentioned motive for this gesture of friendship and hospitality:

> ...δὴ γάρ οἱ ἔην φάτις, εὖτ' ἂν ἵκωνται
> ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖος στόλος, αὐτίκα τοῖσγε
> μείλιχον ἀντιάαν μηδὲ πτολέμοιο μέλεσθαι. [969-971][2]

At 972ff. the focus shifts, however, from the relationship between the Doliones and Argonauts to the person of the Dolionian leader himself. Cyzicus is described as very young (νεῖόν που καὶ κείνῳ ὑποσταχύεσκον ἴουλοι) (972) and childless (οὐδέ νύ πω παίδεσσιν ἀγαλλόμενος μεμόρητο) (973), although already married. His bride receives a thoroughly Homeric introduction, as did he. With 948-950.

> ...ἐν δ' ἥρως Αἰνήϊος υἱὸς ἄνασσε
> Κύζικος, ὃν κούρη δίου τέκεν Εὐσώροιο
> Αἰνήτη...

compare the references to Cleite as "bedfellow" (ἄκοιτις) (974),[3] "offspring of Percosian Merops" (Μέροπος Περκωσίου ἐκγεγαυῖα) (975),[4] even "well-tressed" (ἐϋπλόκαμος) (976).[5]

The next verse-and-a-half stresses the recency of the marriage:

[1] Cf. 837 (cited above, p. 71), where Jason applies to the Argonauts, newly arrived at Lemnos, the dative of the participle derived from the semantically comparable verb χατεῖν.

[2] Concerning other examples of the "honeyed" approach see above, p. 46, n. 3; pp. 63f.

[3] The term in question (concerning its application to the goddess Hera see p. 106, n. 3 below) occurs at least a dozen times each in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. See Prendergast and Dunbar, opp. citt. (above, p. 69, n. 5) s.v. In the present Apollonian context, however, there remains a suggestion of oxymoron in the addition of the epithet ἀκήρατος, explained by the scholiast as ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄπαις καὶ καθαρὰ ὠδίνων. This corresponds, then, to the description of Cyzicus cited above from line 973. See also lines 976f., cited below, p. 95 ad init.

[4] The same genitives appear, even in the same metrical position, in a genealogy of Adrastus and Amphius incorporated into the Catalogue of Trojan Allies. See *Iliad* B 830f. Homer omits any reference, however, to Cleite's being sister to the two youths.

[5] In the Homeric poems this adjective is assigned mainly to deities. See the list of names supplied by Ebeling, op. cit. (above, p. 41, n. 1) s.v.

> ...τὴν μὲν νέον ἐξέτι πατρὸς
> θεσπεσίοις ἕδνοισιν[1] ἀνήγαγεν ἀντιπέρηθεν. [976f.]

Transition back to the theme of Cyzicus' reception of the Argonauts proves consequently less abrupt, since the import of lines 977ff. is that the requirements of hospitality take precedence over personal comfort: the Dolionian ruler abandons the bridal chamber to supervise the care and feeding of his visitors. One is reminded of the Euripidean Admetus' insistence on entertaining Heracles, from whom he conceals the fact that he and his household are mourning his wife Alcestis' death.[2]

V

Βάλεν δ' ἀπὸ δείματα θυμοῦ (979), notes Apollonius in closing. Yet the very mention of fear—even fear dispelled—reechoes the ominous note sounded earlier. The Parisinian scholiast in attempting to explain the significance of these words has perhaps overstated his case:

> τὸ δὲ βάλεν <δ'> ἀπὸ δείματα θυμοῦ τοῦτο ἐμφαίνει, ὅτι χρησμόν τινα ἔοικε φοβεῖσθαι ὡς μέλλων τεθνήξεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν.

Earlier, keep in mind, the Doliones withheld welcome until the newcomers had been identified.[3] Now we are asked to believe that the very fact that the newcomers are Argonauts has induced fear on Cyzicus' part. My own surmise is that the original form of the oracular pronouncement—even that there had been any consultation of the oracle at all must be inferred from the term δείματα, since Apollonius gives no express reference—must have been rather more vague than what the scholiast has reported. Had I been writing marginalia to I 979, I should have diverged from the received scholium in a single, yet extremely important particular. The result would have been as follows:

> ...ὅτι χρησμόν τινα ἔοικε φοβεῖσθαι ὡς μέλλων τεθνήξεσθαι ὑπὸ ξένων.

[1] Mooney in a note ad loc. draws attention to a distinction between ἕδνα = *dona* and φέρνη = *dos*: i.e. between gifts which the groom supplies and the dowry contributed by the bride's family.

[2] See *Alc.* 509ff. Heracles is finally apprised of the truth by a disgruntled retainer of Admetus (803ff.: see especially line 822).

[3] See above, p. 92.

A decree of inexorable fate may have ruled that Cyzicus and his comrades perish at the hands of the Argonauts. Nevertheless, if my surmise has any value, all that Cyzicus himself knows is that he must be wary of guests, or simply of strangers (ξένοι in either case).[1]

VI

Thus the sequence of events becomes understandable. Cyzicus and the Doliones, suspicious of strangers in general largely thanks to their neighbors' hostile attitude, hesitate to show friendliness to the present visitors to their shores until the latter have been shown to be none other than the Argonauts. Of the Argonauts *qua* Argonauts Cyzicus is not fearful; in fact, their being who they are makes their presence desired. Yet a glimmer of doubt persists in the King's mind because the Argonauts are at the same time ξένοι. Cyzicus, endeavoring to fulfill the rôle of gracious host, keeps his uneasiness to himself nonetheless. Later a new influx of strangers (actually only the Argonauts, returning involuntarily) takes place, and the old fears return, bolstered by a leap to the erroneous conclusion that the unidentified troop must be a raiding party sent out by the hated Macrieis.

If I have interpreted correctly, there has been established here an interplay of fate and human response rather comparable in its paradoxical results to what happened to Sophocles' Oedipus. The latter too had been forewarned; yet, despite efforts to prevent the prediction of parricide and incest from coming true, through a series of misapprehensions and misidentifications succeeded only in proving the utter veracity of the oracle.[2]

VII

Let me anticipate an objection. At lines 969ff. an oracle—if such is the meaning of φάτις—was alleged in explanation of Cyzicus' hospitality.[3] Now reference to an oracle purports to explain the exact contrary: wariness of strangers on Cyzicus' part. However, in the latter instance it is not Apollonius, but the scholiast who

[1] On the duality of meaning see above, pp. 72 (with n. 1) and 91f.

[2] With regard to ambiguities of expression in *OT* (some of which contribute to the hero's erroneous understanding of his situation) see above, p. 76 and n. 1.

[3] The passage in question is cited above, p. 94. Note, by the way, that a Laurentian gloss ad loc. interprets the noun as φήμη or (more applicable here, in my opinion) χρησμός.

speaks of oracles (ὅτι χρησμόν τινα...). The poet himself observes only that the young monarch has ridded himself of fear.[1] What motivated fearfulness in the first place—or at least fearfulness of the Argonauts: Dolionian suspicion of certain neighbors and, by extension, of any unidentified visitors is manifest enough—has never been expressly stated.

But has the objection received really convincing rebuttal? Or must Apollonius be judged careless and inconsistent? How unlike his normal manner, if true! I am not prepared to come to an assured conclusion. The notion that Cyzicus finds himself caught in a dilemma of having to choose between conflicting oracles is attractive, yet receives little support from the actual text of Apollonius' poem.[2]

VIII

A query-and-answer session at the time of the first Argonautic sojourn among the Doliones makes clear the extent of young Cyzicus' inexperience and dearth of knowledge:

...οὐ μὲν ἐπιπρό
ἠείδει καταλέξαι ἐελδομένοισι δαῆναι. [983f.]

What the Argonauts, who had already furnished an explanation of why they were journeying eastward, sought to gain in return from their host was detailed information about nearby cities and the region of the Propontis. Had Cyzicus himself shown comparable curiosity,[3] perhaps he would have been less prey to irrational fear and suspicion of outsiders. But let us not yet discount completely the possibility that the youth's attitudes have been influenced also by the oracularly stimulated forebodings which the scholiast, if not the poet himself (except by implication) has posited.[4]

Though Apollonius does not say so expressly, there appears to be a causal connection between Cyzicus' failure to supply needed data

[1] See line 979, cited above, p. 95.

[2] Or should the focus be shifted back to the poet's not wholly successful effort to resolve the conflict of local traditions? So Delage suggests, op. cit. (above, p. 3, n. 3) p. 113. For a very different assessment see Fitch, loc. cit. (above, p. 87, n. 2 and p. 93, n. 2). But even Fitch willingly concedes that the Apollonian account "is a singular combination of elements" wherein "a mass of tradition lies before us in a state of imperfect fusion" (p. 55).

[3] Note that the scholiast characterizes Cyzicus' inadequacies not as ἀμαθία or ἄγνοια, but as ἀπραγμοσύνη.

[4] See above, pp. 95f.

and the first Argonautic asceut of Mount Dindymus, describable as a reconnaissance-mission:

ἠοῖ δ' εἰσανέβαν μέγα Δίνδυμον, ὄφρα κεν αὐτοί
θηήσαιντο πόρους κείνης ἁλός... [985f.]

Details of the view from the summit will not be forthcoming from the author until he narrates the very differently motivated second ascent.[1] For the present, however, Apollonius concentrates on the violent confrontation between Argonauts and Giants to which the first inevitably led. And just as there exists a cause-and-effect relationship between this climb and this battle, such a relationship exists also, though in reverse order, between the second climb and the battle between the Argonauts and the Doliones. The symmetry or "pairing" to which I made reference earlier[2] is clearly not an adornment, but the very instrumentality of dramatic foreshadowing, the instrumentality too for conveying the closely related factors of the ironic and the paradoxical.

IX

The principle of pairing not only cuts across the whole of Apollonius' Dolionian narrative, but may be seen doubly at work also within the third section. Closely linked with narration of the initial ascent and of the initial battle are two similes and two aetiological etymologies. The second αἴτιον is quite succinct:

ἥδε δ' Ἰησονίη[3] πέφαται Ὁδός, ἥνπερ ἔβησαν. [988]

The first, on the other hand, both straddles over the second and is indissolubly welded to that simile which likens the Giants to huntsmen, the Argonauts to a hemmed-in beast:

...ἐν δ' ἄρα τοίγε
νῆα Χυτῶι Λιμένι προτέρου ἐξήλασαν ὅρμου. [986f.]

[1] See especially lines 1112-1116 (categorized as a Catalogue in the tabular representation above, p. 91).

[2] See above, p. 87 and nn. 1-2. The chiastic reversal indicated above corresponds to the "concentric" type of symmetrical arrangement discussed below, Chs. VII etc.

[3] Is this adjective really derived from the Argonautic leader's own name? Note that it is employed elsewhere in the Dolionian episode both in connection with a natural feature allegedly supernatural in origin (see 1145ff. = Item # 7g in the table above, p. 91) and as an epithet of Athena (see 958ff. = Item # 2b, above, p. 88).

Γηγενέες δ' ἑτέρωθεν ἀπ' οὔρεος ἀΐξαντες
φράξαν ἀπειρεσίῃσι Χυτοῦ στόμα νειόθι πέτρῃς,
πόντιον οἷά τε θῆρα λοχώμενοι ἔνδον ἐόντα.
[989-991][1]

As the *Etymologicum Genuinum* (B) makes clear, what I identify as "Diked Haven" in translation[2] is an artificial rather than a natural feature:

...Χυτὸς δὲ καλεῖται ὁ περικλεισθεὶς καὶ λίθοις οἰκοδομηθεὶς καὶ μὴ αὐτοφυὴς ὤν...

The creators of the artifice are, of course, the Giants. They expect thereby to deprive the Argonauts of all means of egress.[3]

X

The Giants themselves, though portrayed as aggressors in Apollonius' narrative, apparently have not considered the possibility of intervention by Heracles. Supported by a small group separate from the main body of Argonauts, he subjects the enemy to archery attack and fells many (992-994).

Somewhat puzzling, however, are the words τοὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτοί / πέτρας ἀμφιρρῶγας ἀερτάζοντες ἔβαλλον (994f.). Do they signify that Heracles and his companions cleared out the rocks heaped up by the Giants? Or do they indicate rather that the Giants, converted suddenly from attackers to attacked,[4] picked up and hurled huge rocks in lieu of missiles?

[1] Concerning the not unrelated second simile (1003ff.) see below, pp. 100f.

[2] See Item #3b in the listing above, p. 89.

[3] Not the Giants, but the Pelasgi (i.e. the Macrieis) built the dike, according to a tradition preserved by Deï(l)ochus, fr. 5 M II 17 (incorporated into a scholium (a) on *Arg.* I 987). Or, for Deï(l)ochus, were the latter equatable rather with the followers of Cyzicus? See p. 93, n. 2 above concerning the controverted identity of Pelasgi, Giants, et al. Note too that the battle between the Giants and the Argonauts is omitted completely from Valerius' *Argonautica*, whereas "Orpheus" (thus I shall identify, where necessary, the author of the *Orphic Argonautica* (henceforth *OA*), with all textual references in accordance with G. Dottin's edition (Paris, 1930)) makes Heracles the slayer both of the Giants (522f.) and of Cyzicus (523ff.), as was the latter's destiny. Contrast Apollonius I 1030ff. (= Item 4g in the table above, p. 89). Nowhere in *OA*, be it noted, does the name Δολίονες occur. "Orpheus" makes Cyzicus ruler of the Dolopes rather (501f.), an offshoot, perhaps, of those whom he had identified as subject to Peleus' rule in Phthia (130f.). Is this not practically the same as the Apollonian scholiast's recognition of Cyzicus' followers (cf. above, p. 92) as ἄποικοι Θετταλῶν?

[4] See the discussion below, pp. 100f.

Why did the Giants move aggressively in the first place? According to the poet, these frightful creatures have been nurtured along by Hera in order to create yet another vexatious "task for Heracles" (ἀέθλιον Ἡρακλῆϊ) (996f.).[1] The antipathy of the goddess toward this hero is no less pronounced in the *Argonautica* than the warm regard for Jason which she so regularly manifests. In the latter instance, of course, Hera shows her appreciation for acts of kindness;[2] in the former she is wreaking retribution apparently for something beyond Heracles' control: his having been born of an illicit union between Hera's spouse, the god Zeus, and Amphitryon's mortal bride Alcmene.[3]

Am I right, then, in assuming that Poseidon's keeping the Doliones protected from attack by the Giants reinforces rather than contradicts what Hera intended? If the Giants' only real function is to make Heracles' life more difficult, combat with the Doliones becomes superfluous. It suffices that mere proximity render the one group frightful to the other.

XI

The actual engagement between the Giants and the main body of Argonauts, ending in total victory for the latter, is narrated in a few swift strokes (998-1002). But an attached simile (1003ff.) illustrates well the reversal of situation which has come about since the time when the Giants were trying to hem the Argonauts in. They who were formerly comparable to cornered beasts (passive rôle) now resemble loggers (active rôle), whereas the would-be huntsmen (active rôle) of not too long ago are transformed into a log-like agglomeration (passive rôle).

Apollonius will introduce loggers and their axes into another simile (IV 1682ff.), as will also Valerius Flaccus (III 163-167). But

[1] A scholium ad loc. cites Callimachus' utilization of the same expression in the same metrical position in a more or less analogous context:

> τὴν δὲ μίαν Κελάδοντος ὑπὲρ ποταμοῖο φυγοῦσαν
> Ἥρης ἐννεσίῃσιν, ἀέθλιον Ἡρακλῆϊ
> ὕστερον ὄφρα γένοιτο, πάγος Κερύνειος ἔδεκτο. [*H* 3,107-109]

[2] Concerning Jason's "good deed" and its recompense see above, pp. 17-19.

[3] Perhaps it is no accident, then, that Apollonius in making the goddess responsible for Heracles' present toil should identify her as Ζηνὸς ἄκοιτις (997). Even the choice of noun, employed already at line 974 to indicate Cleite's relationship to Cyzicus (see above, p. 94 and n. 3), proves rather ironic here. For not only Heracles, but most of Zeus' rather extensive progeny was produced by "bedfellows" other than Hera.

what is most noteworthy here at I 1003ff. is the parallelism between the inertness of the slaughtered Giants and the inanimate status of logs (themselves alive formerly), to which they are analogous even in size.

Yet the comparison of Giants and logs will not be maintained all the way to the end of the third section of the Dolionian narrative. If an image persists still, it would be that of fodder. The categorization of unburied corpses as spoil for wild life (ἄμ' οἰωνοῖσι καὶ ἰχθύσι κύρμα γενέσθαι) (1011) can be duplicated not only in the *Odyssey*,

> δὴ τότε τὸν μὲν ἀοιδὸν ἄγων ἐς νῆσον ἐρήμην
> κάλλιπεν οἰωνοῖσιν ἕλωρ καὶ κύρμα γενέσθαι] [γ 270f.][1]

but also in the *Iliad* almost at the very beginning:

> ...αὐτοὺς δὲ ἑλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν
> οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι... [A 4f.][2]

XII

I pass over the first departure of the Argonauts from Dolionia and the more immediate consequences of their unexpected return, though not without noting how effectively the simile of the brushfire (1026ff.) indicates both the suddenness with which battle was joined and the speed with which it was brought to conclusion. What interests me especially, however, is Apollonius' treatment of the demise of the chief victim, Cyzicus himself.

At the outset of the subsection under discussion stress is laid on the fact that Cyzicus, who had departed abruptly from his bridal chamber to greet the Argonauts at the time of their first arrival and who had concerned himself with their comfort even as he pushed aside forebodings (978f.),[3] was destined never to return to the bridal chamber or to the bridal bed:

> οὐδ' ὅγε δηϊότητος ὑπέρ μόρον αὖτις ἔμελλεν
> οἴκαδε νυμφιδίους θαλάμους καὶ λέκτρον ἱκέσθαι. [1030f.]

[1] Cf. Apollonius' own μή πως ἢ θήρεσσιν ἕλωρ πέλοι (I 1251), discussed below, pp. 126f., in another connection.

[2] Cf. Creon's order that the corpse of Polyneices be disallowed funerary honors and be left to lie ἄκλαυτον, ἄταφον, οἰωνοῖς γλυκὺν / θησαυρὸν εἰσορῶσι πρὸς χάριν βορᾶς (Sophocles, *Ant.* 29f.). In the passage cited above from the *Iliad* πᾶσι is the received reading. Some editors, however, follow Zenodotus in preferring οἰωνοῖσί τε δαῖτα ("and a feast for birds").

[3] See above, pp. 94f.

Without further preliminary the slaying of the newly wed monarch at the hands of Jason is reported, as Hermann Fränkel would say, "mit fast klinischem Detail."[1] Yet so economically has the poet operated that the entire account covers only a few verses (1032ff.).

Most noteworthy here is that Cyzicus is said to have "fulfilled his destiny" (μοῖραν ἀνέπλησεν) (1035). How Homeric! How like *Iliad* Δ 170!

αἴ κε θάνῃς καὶ πότμον ἀναπλήσῃς βιότοιο.[2]

From the ensuing generalization (τὴν [sc. μοῖραν] γὰρ θέμις οὔποτ' ἀλύξαι / θνητοῖσιν) (1035f.)[3] Apollonius returns to the particular case of Cyzicus and contrasts the youth's eager bid for prowess with the inevitability of his extinction before he can attain any such goal:

ὥς τόν, ὀϊόμενόν που ἀδευκέος ἔκτοθεν ἄτης
εἶναι ἀριστήων, αὐτῆι ὑπὸ νυκτὶ πέδησεν
μαρνάμενον κείνοισι... [1037-1039]

The subject of the finite verb, glossed in Codex *L* as κατέσχεν, is not directly expressed. That it must be μοῖρα ought to be clear from examination of the Homeric verse which the author of the *Argonautica* undoubtedly had in mind:

ἀλλ' ὅτε δή μιν μοῖρα θεῶν ἐπέδησε δαμῆναι. [*Od.* γ 269][4]

XIII

Likewise strongly reminiscent of Homer is Apollonius' listing of who killed whom apart from Jason's slaying of Cyzicus. The language of many an Homeric battle-scene reechoes through I 1039ff. Even the younger poet's choice of aorists denotative of slaughter or despoilment could be duplicated in the *Iliad* many times over and in the *Odyssey* as well. But it may be that the initial stages of Apollonius' narration in Catalogue-form,

[1] Op. cit. (above, p. 22, n. 4) p. 8. Fränkel actually has in mind the scene of Phineus' awakening from sleep (II 202ff.). Concerning Apollonius' portrayal of the blind seer see Ch. IX below.

[2] Agamemnon is the speaker here, Menelaus the addressee. Paradoxically, Menelaus will outlive his doomed brother by many years.

[3] Cf. IV 1504:

...οὐ γάρ τις ἀποτροπίη θανάτοιο.

[4] I say "undoubtedly had in mind" because I have found at *Arg.* I 1011 what practically amounts to repetition of a formula from the next two verses (270f.) of *Od.* γ. Cf. p. 101 above.

...Ἡρακλέης μὲν ἐνήρατο Τηλεκλῆα
ἠδὲ Μεγαβρόντην, Σφόδριν δ' ἐνάριξεν Ἄκαστος,
Πηλεὺς δὲ Ζέλυν εἷλεν ἀρηΐθοόν τε Γέφυρον,
αὐτὰρ ἐϋμμελίης Τελαμὼν Βασιλῆα κατέκτα. [1040-1043]

are modelled particularly after *Iliad* Ξ 513-515 and 520:

Φάλκην δ' Ἀντίλοχος καὶ Μέρμερον ἐξενάριξε·
Μηριόνης δὲ Μόρυν τε καὶ Ἱπποτίωνα κατέκτα,
Τεῦκρος δὲ Προθόωνά τ' ἐνήρατο καὶ Περιφήτην·

πλείστους δ' Αἴας εἷλεν, Ὀϊλῆος ταχὺς υἱός.

XIV

With the coming of dawn the Argonauts and the surviving Doliones recognize one another. But it is much too late: the error has turned out destructive beyond anyone's ability to cope:

ἠῶθεν δ' ὀλοὴν καὶ ἀμήχανον εἰσενόησαν
ἀμπλακίην ἄμφω... [1053f.][1]

Shocking ἀναγνώρισις will recur in the aftermath of the "Rape of Hylas" and likewise at dawn (I 1280ff.).[2] The shock will prove less severe, however; for the Argonauts will not be conscious of having killed anyone by mistake. What will have been discovered is the absence of Heracles, Hylas, and Polyphemus. Still, the error of sailing from Mysia without having first checked for missing personnel will lead ultimately to *deliberate slaughter*. For Heracles long after the incident itself will strike down Boreas' sons, Zetes and Calaïs, for having vetoed the proposal to sail back and institute a search (1298-1305).[3]

XV

Whereas elsewhere in the Dolionian episode elements are frequently paired, in the fifth section triplicity rather than duality

[1] In Apollonius' poem the adjective ἀμήχανος normally conveys a sense of helplessness or ineptitude. See especially above, p. 49, n. 2. Here, however, a more active meaning must be understood. In such a context "impossible" (or at least "difficult") makes sense. Conjoined with a noun denoting error, as here, might not the adjective mean "irreversible" or "irrevocable" rather?

[2] Cf. above, p. 93, n. 3, below, p. 108, n. 3 and ch. VII.

[3] Cf. above, p. 14 ad fin and n. 3. Several aspects of Heracles' relationship with the two hapless youths are explored also in the paper mentioned above, p. 55, n. 6 ad fin.

appears to be the rule. Even before introducing *three* successive αἴτια (1058-1062; 1063-1069; 1070-1077) the poet informs us that lamentations and tearing of hair continued for *three* days (1057f.). At the funeral itself not only were athletic contests held (1060); there was performed also an armed dance which wound *three* times around Cyzicus' tomb:

τρὶς περὶ χαλκείοις σὺν τεύχεσι δινηθέντες [1059]

Here too, as at IV 1535 (τρὶς δ' ἀμφὶ σὺν ἔντεσι δινηθέντες), Apollonius follows Homeric precedent (τρὶς περὶ νεκρὸν ἐΰτριχας ἤλασαν ἵππους) (*Iliad* Ψ 13), and is followed in turn by Virgil and—not surprisingly, since he is describing a similar event—by Valerius Flaccus. But Valerius, as usual, has looked quite closely at what was penned by his countryman. Note that in emphasizing triplicity of action both Virgil and he resort to anaphoric doubling,

ter circum[1] accensos cincti fulgentibus armis
decurrere rogos, *ter* maestum funeris ignem
lustrauere in equis ululatusque ore dedere.
[*Aen.* XI 188-190]

inde *ter* armatos Minyis referentibus orbes
concussi tremuere rogi, *ter* inhorruit aether
luctificum clangente tuba... [*Arg.* III 347-349]

whereas Homer and Apollonius do not.

XVI

The first of three θαύματα to be detected during the period of enforced Argonautic idleness[2] is the appearance of a kingfisher endowed not only with the power of intelligible speech, but with prophetic capabilities as well:

ἡ δ' ἄρ' ὑπέρ ξανθοῖο καρήατος Αἰσονίδαο
πωτᾶτ' ἀλκυονίς, λιγυρῆι ὀπὶ θεσπίζουσα [1084f.][3]

I know not whether the fact of this particular bird's being female—

[1] Cf. Homer's and Apollonius' use of περί (or ἀμφί) in the passages quoted above.
[2] Triplicity again, in Section 6 as in Section 5! Cf. above, pp. 103f. On the length of the delay see p. 90, n. 3 above.
[3] Partially cited also below, p. 106, along with half of line 1086.

ἀλκυονίς rather than ἀλκυών—has any special significance, apart from the impossibility of fitting the masculine nominative singular into dactyls or spondees.[1]

What is really important here, however, is not the sex of the bird, but the species. For kingfishers are traditionally associated with good weather,[2] and the prophecy itself concerns the eventual slackening of the storm which has kept the Argonauts from leaving Dolionia a second time. What a fitting harbinger, therefore! How appropriate also that one of the human auditors should be none other than Mopsus, described in the Catalogue as Apollo's favorite disciple in augury (ὃν περὶ πάντων / Λητοΐδης ἐδίδαξε θεοπροπίας οἰωνῶν) (I 65f.)[3]

Comprehending the message (1086f.), Mopsus rouses Jason in order to pass it on to him (1090f.).[4] The kingfisher, meanwhile, having performed her assigned task and having been dismissed by the deity who sent her in the first place,[5] now takes up a position, at least temporarily, above the Argo's prow (1088f.).

[1] Note that at lines 1096f. (partially cited below, p. 107), the metrically possible, but normally masculine genitive singular ἀλκυόνος is conjoined with a feminine adjectival form ἁλίης as well as with the relative pronoun ἥ and the participial form πιφαυσκομένη. At 1087 (concerning which see also pp. 106f. below) ὄρνιθος could be either masculine or feminine; but ambiguity is resolved through the juxtaposition of ἀκταίης, indubitably feminine and uncontested in the manuscript tradition.
[2] Witness our directly derived expression "Halcyon Days" (from ἡμέραι ἀλκυονίδες or ἀλκυόνειοι). On this subject see also Gow's note on Theocritus 7,57 and the passages listed there or in D'Arcy W. Thompson's *A Glossary of Greek Birds*[2] (Oxford, 1936: repr. Hildesheim, 1966) pp. 48ff.
[3] Cited also below, p. 195: Cf. Pindar, *P* 4,189-191:

...καί ῥά οἱ
μάντις ὀρνίχεσσι καὶ κλάροισι θεοπροπέων ἱεροῖς
Μόψος ἄμβασε στρατὸν πρόφρων...

Comparable language is employed also at *Arg.* I 142-145 with respect to Idmon, said to be not really Abas' son, but son as well as protégé of the god Apollo. On Idmon's lineage see also above, p. 30 and n. 3.
[4] The speech itself (1092-1102) is considered below, pp. 106f.
[5] Relying on Pindar as his authority, the scholiast names Hera. But it seems to me more likely that Rhea, tbe ultimate beneficiary of prayers and sacrifical rites and instigator as well of miraculous response (Items ##7f-g in the tabular listing above, p. 91: see also above, p. 98, n. 3, below, p. 108 and n. 1), would utilize the kingfisher as her mouthpiece (cf. below, p. 107), much as Hera herself communicates through the scolding crow (III 932-937: the speech itself will be discnssed in Vol. II of this study) at the time of Jason's initial private meeting with Medea. With regard to the conspicnous rôle of birds throughout the *Argonautica* see especially Lawall, op. cit. (above, p. 44, n. 4) p. 125, n. 11. Specific instances of avian prominence between the

XVII

Once Jason is awake, Mopsus conveys to him the substance of the kingfisher's message: propitiatory rites to Rhea atop Mount Dindymus will ensure that the storm be terminated. To this awesome deity, he adds at the end—but now he seems to be putting forth his own thoughts rather than merely a continuation of what the bird imparted—even Zeus himself gives way,[1] as do the other ἀθάνατοι μάκαρες (1100-1102).

A noteworthy deviation from the Homeric norm is to be discerned here. Whereas Homer frequently quotes a speech, then repeats the whole statement verbatim as transmitted by the original addressee to a third party for whom it was ultimately intended, Apollonius, removed by several additional centuries from the direct influence of the oral style, almost never does so.[2] In the present case the kingfisher's remarks are not actually quoted. The substance of her communication has been summed up rather in the phrase λιγυρῆι ὀπὶ θεσπίζουσα / λῆξιν ὀρινομένων ἀνέμων (1085f.).[3] Varying the combination even as he replaces the key noun with an etymologically related verb in the appropriate tense, the poet assigns to Mopsus a confident assertion that the storm winds will cease (λήξουσι δ' ἄελλαι / ζαχρηεῖς) (1094f.).[4]

What I have cited is symptomatic of a whole pattern of subtly varied recapitulation. Some of the correspondences entail close echoing. Compare, for example, ὅσσαν ἀκούσας (1087) and ὅσσαν ἄκουσα (1095). Here not only the vocabulary, but even the metrical position (end of the verse) is the same.

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final departure from Dolionia and the arrival of the Argonauts in Colchis are discussed below, Chs. IX (Harpies), X (dove at the Symplegades), XIII (belligerent flock guarding the Island Aretias), XIV (eagle who recurrently pecks at bound Prometheus' liver). Though he makes room in his list for such air-borne divinities and mortals as Iris and the Boreads (why not Phrixus' flying ram as well, who happens also to be capable of speech?), Lawall strangely omits both the kingfisher and the crow. He leaves out even the confrontation of hawk and dove at III 540ff. (likewise to be discussed in my second volume), but refers to it elsewhere (p. 136, n. 24) in a discussion of the "antithesis between Love and War," which he recognizes as a pervading theme of the poem.

[1] Hardly surprising: he is Rhea's own son, according to the genealogies constructed by Hesiod et al.

[2] See pp. 67f. above concerning a rare exception (I 714-716 = I 705-707, more or less). On Apollonius' usual preference for ποικιλία see the authorities mentioned above, p. 68, n. 1. See also p. 35 and n. 3.

[3] Cf. above, p. 104, below, p. 108 ad fin.

[4] Cf. below, ibid.

Parallelism may be established also through the use of synonyms or near synonyms. Thus πιφαυσκομένη (1097) corresponds to θεσπίζουσα (1085), while ἀλκυόνος ἁλίης (1096) serves as a more precise equivalent—note too the chiasmus—to ἀκταίης ὄρνιθος (1087). But the genitive of the generic term appears at 1087 mainly because ἀλκυονίς has been employed already two verses before.[1]

What might be called "conflationary compression" offers yet another method for varying what has already been introduced. Information which originally straddled across three verses,

> ...ἀδινὰ κνώσσοντας ἔρυντο·
> ἡ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ ξανθοῖο καρήατος Αἰσονίδαο
> ποτᾶτ'... [1083-1085][2]

requires no more than two (κνώσσοντος ὕπερθεν[3] / σεῖο πέριξ...πεπότητο) (1096f.) the second time.

XVIII

It is fortunate that Apollonius knows how to recapitulate without iterating every detail. For the message must be relayed yet again, this time from an awakened Jason to his fellows, whom he must in turn awaken. Four verses, of which I cite only the last,

> Ἀμπυκίδεω Μόψοιο θεοπροπίας ἀγόρευσεν. [1106]

suffice to indicate what has happened.

Someone may object, however, that brevity has proved not altogether beneficial. Despite the fact that it is called *his*, Mopsus did not originate the prophecy. In his professional capacity he functions instead as the central link in a five-part chain of transmission:

RHEA [4] → KINGFISHER → MOPSUS → JASON → ARGONAUTS

XIX

The narrative of the second ascent of Mount Dindymus (1107ff.), with attendant Catalogue of what the Argonauts observed from the summit (1112-1116), need not be the subject of separate discussion.

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[1] Concerning the question of gender both at 1086f. and at 1096f. see above, p. 104f and p. 105 n. 1.

[2] For fuller citation of line 1085 see above, p. 104 ad fin. See p. 105 also.

[3] This word appears to be repeated from line 1088, where the reference is to the perch taken up by the kingfisher after the completion of her speech.

[4] Cf. above, p. 105, n. 5 ad init.

Similarly I pass over the account of sacrificial rites (1123ff.) as well as the attached αἴτια (1132-1139; 1145-1149) and θαύματα (1140ff.).[1] Not even the banquet at Bear Mountain (1150f.) requires special comment.

I proceed, therefore, to the final division of the episode, that which tells of the Argonauts' second departure:

...αὐτάρ ἐς ἠῶ
ληξάντων ἀνέμων νῆσον λίπον εἰρεσίῃσιν. [1151f.][2]

Comparison of this verse-and-a-third with the three verses assigned to the earlier quitting of the island,

ἥρωες δ', ὅτε δή σφιν ἀταρβὴς ἔπλε κέλευθος,
δὴ τότε πείσματα νηὸς ἐπὶ πνοιῇς ἀνέμοιο
λυσάμενοι, προτέρωσε διὲξ ἁλὸς οἶδμα νέοντο. [1012-1014]

shows once again the poet's ability to economize where some sort of repetition proves necessary.

In both instances—please take note—special stress is laid on weather conditions. At the time of their first departure the Argonauts were overeager to take advantage of a favoring breeze.[3] Little did they realize that a sudden shift of wind direction would blow them back whence they came. Having profited perhaps from this discomfiture, Jason and his comrades do not depart a second time until the cessation of many days of stormy weather. Note too that the genitive absolute ληξάντων ἀνέμων seems to have been brought in deliberately both to echo the expressions λῆξιν ὀρινομένων ἀνέμων (1086) and λήξουσι δ' ἄελλαι / ζαχρηεῖς (1094f.)[4] and to show the coming to pass of what had been put forth earlier as prophecy.

[1] Perhaps not only the second miracle ascribed to Rhea, but the first as well should be classified under αἴτια. Rustafjaell, op. cit. (above, p. 87, n. 4) pp. 178f., visiting the site around 1900, was struck by the profusion of flora and fauna observable there.

[2] The emphasized terms are scrutinized more closely below and at p. 109, n. 2.

[3] The same will happen again in Mysia (I 1273ff.). Because a fresh wind has just sprung up the Argonauts set sail at midnight. But in their haste they inadvertently leave part of the crew behind. Cf. above, p. 93, n. 3 and p. 103, below, Ch. VII.

[4] Both passages are cited also above, p. 106. Concerning the genitive absolute at 1152 see also p. 109, n. 2 below.

XX

An ironic consequence may also be observed. So completely have the winds died down at the time of the second departure that the Argonauts find themselves unable to use sails at all. Instead they must rely on their oars. Observe, however, that εἰρεσίῃσιν, the instrumental dative which serves as the last word of the narrative of events in Dolionia, serves also as a pivot to the major episode which centers around the disappearance of Hylas.[1] For the Argonauts would not have landed at the mouth of the River Cius, had not Heracles, his oar broken, needed to seek raw material for a replacement. The shattering of the oar occurred in a rowing contest which would not have taken place, had there been sufficient wind to propel the ship by sail alone without recourse to human muscle power.[2]

[1] Cf. Hurst's definition, op. cit. (above, p. 9, n. 1) p. 43, of "élément pivot" as that which is endowed with a double function. Concerning individual instances other than the link between the Dolionian and Mysian narratives (for some reason Hurst leaves it out of account) see pp. 47; 50; 57; 78; 79; 88; 93; 96f.; 99; 113; 128.

[2] Cf. Koch, op. cit. (above, p. 28, n. 4) p. 4, who likewise points to a progression from ληξάντων ἀνέμων (1152: cf. above, p. 108 (bis)) to εἰρεσίῃσιν (ibid.: cf. above, loc. cit.) to ἔνθ' ἔρις (1153). The outer limits of the Mysian- (or Hylas-)episode are discussed below, pp. 110ff.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ΠΑΡΑ ΜΥΣΟΙΣ[1]

I

If, like Medea and hardly less so, Heracles is a key figure of Apollonius' plot,[2] the story of the disappearance of Hylas, in company with whom he enlisted among the Argonauts and for whose sake he became separated from them, must be regarded as one of the most significant portions of the entire epic. The poet has taken particular pains, moreover, to establish interconnection between the whole and the episode which here functions as a part.

Perhaps for this very reason the precise boundaries of the Apollonian Hylas-narrative have become a matter of scholarly disagreement. Those whose primary concern is directed in somewhat Procrustean fashion toward comparing what Apollonius has written with the self-contained thirteenth Idyll of Theocritus or twentieth Elegy of Propertius tend to consider only *Arg.* I 1207-1272 (the "Rape of Hylas" proper (1207-1239) plus the frustrated searches of Polyphemus (1240ff.) and of Heracles (1261ff.)).[3] R. W. Garson, on the other hand, comparing two epic treatments as he does (those of Apollonius and of Valerius Flaccus), views both considerably more inclusively. The breaking of Heracles' oar is the starting point in either instance (Apollonius I 1161ff.; Valerius III 474ff.), while the former ends at I 1344 with Telamon and Jason reconciled, the latter at IV 57 with Hercules watching the Argo sail by without him.[4] As

[1] To a considerable degree this chapter is derived from a much longer study, "Two Hylas-Narratives," presented originally at a meeting of The Language and Literature Club of Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, May 12, 1959.

[2] Cf. Ardizzoni, op. cit. (above, p. 55, n. 6) p. 24, n. 1, also pp. 31f.

[3] See, for example, p. 10 of A. S. F. Gow's "The Thirteenth Idyll of Theocritus," *CQ* XXXII (1938) 10-17; introductory note to the Commentary on Propertius I 20 in H. E. Butler's and E. A. Barber's *The Elegies of Propertius* (Oxford, 1933). Cf. p. 175 of the second fascicle of P. J. Enk's annotated edition of the Propertian *Monobiblos* (Leiden, 1946).

[4] See the bicolumnar diagram on the opening page of Garson's "The Hylas Episode in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*," *CQ* NS XIII (1963) 260-267. The editors of Propertius' Elegies mentioned above, n. 3, trim down not only Apollonius' Hylas-narrative, but that of Valerius as well. They take the latter to begin at III 521.

for Adolf Köhnken, is it any surprise that he should find the limits of what he prefers to call "die Kiosepisode des Apollonios" in the landing near the River Cius (I 1172ff.) and in the departure therefrom (1273-1279)?[1]

II

Where, then, does the story really begin in Apollonius' version? Where does it end? I should agree with Garson in extending the boundaries a considerable distance outward, but would go still further than he. It could be argued even that the essential sequence is already inaugurated as soon as Heracles and Hylas have been introduced together into the Catalogue of Argonauts (I 122-132). A connected Hylas-narrative does not commence, however, until after the completion of three major episodes, in each of which Heracles plays a conspicuous part.[2]

Thus the story-proper would extend from I 1153f., where mention is made of the rowing contest which sprang up among the Argonauts as they journeyed through the Propontis en route from Dolionia.[3] Heracles in the very act of demonstrating his superiority over the other rowers exerted so much pressure that his oar broke (1161-1171). He was consequently forced to seek a replacement as soon as possible after a landing could be effected near the River Cius' mouth. The story-proper terminates (1284ff.) with the Argo at sea once more and with a dispute having broken out over whether to turn back to search for Heracles, Hylas, and Polyphemus, all three of whom had wandered off the evening before during the brief stopover and been left inadvertently behind when Tiphys urged the

[1] Op. cit. (above, p. 78, n. 6) p. 17. But Köhnken has realized also that lines 1172-1279 fall neatly into a pattern of "ringförmige Komposition." See his overall diagram, loc. cit., and the ensuing discussion, pp. 17ff., as well as the more detailed plot-outlines scattered throughout his monograph. Though I differ with him in regard to some particulars (not excluding the matter of the episode's boundaries), my own analysis has uncovered similar patterning. What Köhnken calls "die Ringform" and what Hurst, op. cit. (above, p. 9, n. 1) p. 42, labels "récurrence" or "ensemble récurrent" I prefer to categorize simply as "concentric symmetry." See below, pp. 120ff.

[2] See Chs. IV-VI above, especially pp. 44-47; p. 79, n. 1; pp. 99f.

[3] Cf. above, p. 109 and nn. 1-2, where the pivotal rôle of line 1152 in effecting the transition from one episode to the other is considered. Hurst, op. cit. (above, p. 9, n. 1) pp. 64ff., likewise views the Hylas-episode as inclusively as possible. For a diagram of its structure (somewhat more elaborate than my own breakdown, though not essentially at variance with it) see Schema #6 in the endpapers to Hurst's book.

Argonauts to set sail long before dawn to take advantage of favorable winds.[1]

III

Closely linked, however, with the main body of the Apollonian Hylas-narrative is a series of Appendices. First comes the intervention of the sea-deity Glaucus to end the wrangle aboard ship through prophetic explanation of the necessity for *not* recovering Heracles and his companions (1309ff.).[2] A further Appendix (1329ff.), interlocking with the story proper, describes the reconciliation of Jason and his sometime detractor Telamon.[3]

Finally at 1345ff. there occurs a terminal Appendix which looks toward the near future and the carrying out of the will of Zeus as expressed in Glaucus' prophecies. As we learn from the later course of the poem, these prophecies have been or are currently in the process of being fulfilled even as the Argonauts continue their adventures.[4]

The terminal Appendix looks also to that more distant future which for Apollonius and for his original audience was synonymous with the present. Aside from any purely decorative purpose, the series of interconnected αἴτια which brings it to completion,

[1] Cf. above, p. 93, n. 3; pp. 103f.; p. 108, n. 3. See particularly lines 1272-1279, along with Köhnken's effective demonstration, op. cit. (above, p. 78, n. 6) pp. 79ff., that the opportunity to dispense with rowing both motivates departure at such an odd hour and explains why Heracles' absence was not readily discernible. Had the Argonauts been seated at their oars with Ancaeus I, the regular rowing-mate of Heracles (see I 394-400), left partnerless, the consequences would necessarily have been far different.

[2] Having noted that Theocritus alone rejoins Heracles with the Argonauts at Colchis, the Theocritean scholiast in a note on *Id.* 13,75 informs us also that other authors follow a tradition which imputes Heracles' separation from the Argonauts to the dictation of the goddess Hera. She wished, according to the scholiast, that Jason rather than Heracles be credited with the Golden Fleece's capture. Hémardinquer, op. cit. (above, p. 17, n. 3) pp. 65f., asserts that the exclusion of Theseus (concerning which see p. 26, n. 2 above) was similarly motivated. The point of the Apollonian Glaucus' speech, however, is not that Hera has thwarted Heracles once again (on her enmity toward him see p. 100 and n. 3 above), but that it is Zeus' will that the hero resume his interrupted Twelve Labors. On the occasion for the interruption see above, p. 35 and n. 4. What Glaucus says is sufficient to dispel any notion that Telamon was right (see 1290-1293) in suspecting a plot on Jason's part to remove Heracles in order to cease from being overshadowed by him.

[3] Telamon's criticisms are summarized above, n. 2 ad fin.

[4] E.g. Polyphemus' founding of the city of Cius and subsequent death after removal to Chalybian territory. See I 1321-1323; 1345ff.; IV 1472ff. See also below and p. 158, n. 5.

[1] City of Cius founded by Polyphemus (1345ff.)

[2] Mysian Hylas-rites originate in Heracles' demand that the search for the lost youth be carried on for as long as necessary (1348ff.)

[3] Continuing Trachinian interest in the city of Cius results from Heracles' having removed youths from the neighborhood to Trachis as hostages (1351ff.)[1]

serves to illustrate once again how thoroughly present experience has its roots in the experience of individuals who lived or are thought to have lived in the remote past.[2]

IV

Possibly it is true, of course, that Apollonius' fondness for the aetiological operates to the detriment of poetic interest.[3] No such complaint could be lodged against Theocritus, who characteristically strives for elegance (one of the desiderata of Callimachus and his fellows) rather than for demonstration of erudite leanings (another Callimachean desideratum).[4] Yet I cannot agree with those—

[1] Delage, op. cit. (above, p. 3, n. 3) p. 117, suspects that a lost epic of Cinaetho (mentioned at Schol. Ap. Rh. I 1357) is the source whence these αἴτια have been appropriated.

[2] Are not αἴτια generally bridges, so to speak, between two eras? That aetiological digressions introduced by Apollonius have thus "another and artistically worthier purpose" than mere "self-conscious display of erudition" is recognized by Carspecken, op. cit. (above, p. 2, n. 6) p. 131. Cf. Lawall, op. cit. (above, p. 44, n. 4) p. 131, n. 19, also p. 4 of S. A. Naber's "Ad Apoll. Rhod.," *Mn* NS XXXIV (1906) 1-39.

[3] Cf. above, p. 5. Yet Hadas, op. cit. (above, p. 44, n. 4) pp. 43f., having first quoted the adverse criticisms of J. P. Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought from the Death of Alexander to the Roman Conquest*[2] (London and New York, 1896) p. 287, of Couat, op. cit. (English edition, here and henceforth) (above, p. 57, n. 4) p. 342, and of Körte, op. cit. (English edition likewise) (above, ibid.) p. 191—to which he might have added Ardizzoni's expressions of annoyance, op. cit. (above, p. 80, n. 3) pp. 137-139 etc.—turns advocate in Apollonius' defense. Even warmer praise is offered by M. Marjorie Crump, *The Epyllion from Theocritus to Ovid* (Oxford (Blackwell) 1931) pp. 11f.

[4] As a reminder of the latter consider the very title of the Cyrenian's most famous work. Concerning the distinction itself see Couat, op. cit. (above, p. 57, n. 4) p. 521; P. E. Legrand, *La poésie alexandrine* (Paris, 1924) p. 166. Miss. M. Sanchez-Wildberger, *Theokrit-Interpretationen* (Diss., Zürich, 1955) p. 13, argues, however, that Theocritus consciously follows the Alexandrian practice of rendering every phrase replete with literary associations. Concerning a specific instance, the echoing of *Iliad* Λ 462f. at *Id.* 13,58-60 (three loud calls and three weak replies in either instance), see Gow, op. cit. (above, p. 110, n. 3) pp. 11f.; Legrand, *Étude sur Théocrite* (= *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* LXXIX) (Paris, 1898) pp. 99f.

mostly persons eager to promote the theory that Theocritus composed his thirteenth Idyll with the express purpose of correcting and improving upon what Apollonius had previously written[1]—who affix to the Hylas-narrative of Apollonius such opprobrious labels as "clumsily told," "awkward," and "masslos ungeschickt."[2] Users of such language seem well aware of the expertise with which Theocritus has elaborated his poem. They can appreciate the cleverly

[1] The "Korrektur"-theory goes back at least to Wilamowitz. An eager disciple, Georg Knaack, was already disseminating its essentials (see pp. 29-31 of "Analecta," *Hermes* XVIII (1883) 28-33; pp. 131-139 and 320 of "Zu den Aitien des Kallimachos," ibid. XXIII (1888) 131ff.; 319f.; the review of G. Türk's *De Hyla* (= *AbhBresl* VII 4) (Breslau, 1895) in *GGA* 1896, pp. 867-888; the article s.v. "Apollonios" (71), *RE* II 126-134) long before the master himself codified it succinctly in print at p. 177 of *Die Textgeschichte der griechischen Bukoliker* (= *Philologische Untersuchungen* XVIII) (Berlin, 1906). The contention of Gow, op. cit. (above, p. 110 n. 3) p. 11, that Theocritus wrote *after* rather than before Apollonius is based, says that scholar, "on the superiority of T.'s narrative." With regard to relative chronology cf. ibid., pp. 12f. See also secund. op. cit. (above, p. 54, n. 4) II 231f., as well as Otis, op. cit. (above, p. 3, n. 5) pp. 398-405, and G. Serrao, "Problemi di poesia alessandrina," *Helikon* V (1965) 541-565. Neither the priority of the Apollonian Hylas-narrative nor the superiority of the Theocritean is universally acknowledged, however. Köhnken, op. cit. (above, p. 78, n. 6) *passim*, especially pp. 80-83, asserts both that Theocritus wrote first and that what Apollonius produced is better. Others who deem the epic writer's "Hylas" preferable include Türk, op. cit. (see above) pp. 21ff., and Hadas, op. cit. (above, p. 44, n. 4) p. 45.

[2] See Gow, locc. citt. (above, n. 1); Knaack, secund. et quart. opp. citt. (above, ibid.) p. 137 and coll. 127ff. respectively. Knaack's attitude is criticized by Faerber, op. cit. (above, p. 3, n. 1) pp. 63f., and by M. Rannow (col. 710 of a review, *BPW* XXVI (1906) 705-714, of J. Heumann's *De epyllio alexandrino* (Diss. Leipzig, 1904)). See also Blumberg, op. cit. (above, p. 6, n. 2) p. 28, n. 33; Koch, op. cit. (above, p. 28, n. 4) p. 26 and n. 1. G. Perrotta (see pp. 94ff. of "Studî di poesia ellenistica," *SIFC* NS IV (1925) 1-68; 85-280) finds Apollonius to be as able a literary craftsman as Theocritus. He contends, however, that the *Argonautica*, though dignified, solemn, well constructed, must at the same time be pronounced cold and lifeless. For a more affirmative estimate consult the authorities mentioned above, n. 1 ad fin. That Apollonius retells the story "with exquisite effect" after having perused not only Theocritus' thirteenth Idyll, but the *Aetia* of Callimachus as well, is the conclusion of Carspecken, op. cit. (above, p. 2, n. 6) p. 119. Cf. R. Pfeiffer, *Kallimachos-Studien* (Munich, 1922) pp. 38ff.; I 25 (a note on fr. 18,9) in his annotated edition of Callimachus (Oxford, 1949-1953); pp. 72f. of "The Future of Studies in the Field of Hellenistic Poetry," *JHS* LXXV (1955) 69-73; Köhnken, op. cit. (above, p. 78, n. 6) pp. 15; 35f. C. Corbato, *Riprese Callimachee in Apollonio Rodio* (Trieste, 1955) p. 22, concludes that not only when he composed his Hylas-narrative, but also when he touched upon other subjects to which Callimachus had given attention, the author of the *Argonautica* worked with a text of the corresponding passage "dinanzi agli occhi."

disposed dovetailing of general and particular and again of those portions of the whole in which Heracles is the dominant figure and those in which the focus shifts to Hylas himself or to the Argonauts collectively. They are undoubtedly aware of Theocritus' forceful employment of such rhetorical devices as anaphora.[1] Yet their prejudices have prevented them from taking account of occasional carelessnesses of which the same author can be guilty.[2] Possibly for this reason too they have failed to recognize the architectonic skill with which Apollonius has erected a far more complex structure.[3]

V

Had his severer critics taken the trouble to examine Apollonius' text more closely, they might have come to realize that the introduction of Polyphemus as a participant in actions revolving around Hylas was not simply a graceless concession either to local traditions which celebrated the former as founder of the city of Cius or to that variant form of the myth (noted in a scholium on I 1207) wherein not Heracles, but Polyphemus was Hylas' lover.[4] Knaack, for example, might not have claimed that as a result of the "Doppelgeschichte"—the account of searches for the missing youth by

[1] E.g. οὐχ ἁμῖν (1 and 3), οὔθ' ὁπόκ' (actually ὁπόχ' the first time) (11 and 12), ἀθρόος (50 and 51), τρίς (58 and 59: see also above, p. 113, n. 4). Additional examples are quoted by Köhnken, op. cit. (above, p. 78, n. 6) p. 63. But see p. 81 for his criticism of overattention to formal exigencies.

[2] With the exception of Gow, I should have said. See his notes, secund. op. cit. (above, p. 54, n. 4) on *Idd.* 2,144; 5,139; 10,14; 11,13 and 50; 13,68 (cited with glee by Köhnken, p. 79); 22,146 and 177 and 218 (Gow is particularly embarrassed by Sections iii-iv (lines 137-211 and 212-223 respectively) of this poem: cf. locc. citt. (above, ibid.): my own paper on the subject (see also above, ibid.) considers rather the *moral questions* which Section iii inevitably raises—for me, at least); 24,46 and 49; 25,157 and 167 and 255 (the matter of this poem's authorship remains moot, so far as Gow is concerned: see II 439-441); 28,24.

[3] Needless to say, I cannot accept the contention of Mackail, op. cit. (above, p. 6, n. 4) p. 247, that Apollonius utterly lacks "high architectonic power." Nor am I convinced that Knorr, op. cit. (above, p. 18, n. 4) p. 43, is right in praising Apollonius' treatment of minute particulars at the same time that he condemns the poet for alleged incapacity to join these particulars together into a cohesive whole. For recognition of how the whole has been brought effectively together one must turn rather to the contributions of such scholars as Lawall and Hurst.

[4] So it was reported, says the scholiast, in the Πρὸς Εἰδόθεον of a certain Socrates. According to Nicander, the search for Hylas was carried on by Polyphemus alone in Heracles' stead.

Heracles and Polyphemus both—the poetry of the Apollonian Hylas-narrative was destroyed.[1]

In his commitment both to the priority of Apollonius and to the superiority of Theocritus apparently Knaack considers the latter's total omission of Polyphemus to be the commendable norm reestablished in the face of the epic poet's deviation. Both he and Gow contend, at any rate, that Apollonius should be blamed. Theocritus praised for their respective treatments.[2] Unfortunately neither scholar has sufficiently perceived that, just as the author of the *Argonautica* endeavors to harmonize conflicting myths, so he utilizes division of labor and pairing of activities as a conscious structural principle.[3]

Thus, whereas Theocritus assigns the search for Hylas to a lone hero whose relationship to the youth is both that of lover (ἤρατο παιδός) (13,6) and that of foster-parent and teacher (καί νιν πάντ᾽ ἐδίδασκε, πατὴρ ὡσεὶ φίλον υἱόν) (8),[4] Apollonius divides these rôles between two heroes and assigns the search to both. Similarly the actual kidnapping of Hylas is said by Theocritus to be the deed of three nymphs significantly named Eunice, Malis and Nychea (45ff.);[5] Apollonius, however, distinguishes between the single un-

[1] The charge is made at p. 137 of the second of Knaack's contributions listed above, p. 114, n. 1.

[2] See respectively loc. cit. (above, n. 1) and secund. op. cit. (above, p. 54, n. 4) II 232.

[3] On pairing in the Dolionian episode in particular see above, pp. 87ff.; pp. 98f. Not only in bringing seemingly irreconcilable mythological variants together (see above and below, passim), but also in combining, for example, the bourgeois and the heroic, the realistic and the romantic, the modern and the archaic—even the Callimachean and the Homeric—Apollonius demonstrates again and again that he himself deserves to be labelled "the poet of the middle way."

[4] In this portion of the Idyll Miss Sanchez-Wildberger, loc. cit. (above, p. 113, n. 4), discerns both "Konträrwirkung" to the Apollonian account of the murder of Hylas' sire (*Arg.* I 1211ff.) and a reminder of the emotional attachment noted in the *Iliad* (see especially I 427ff.) between Achilles and his senior, Phoenix. Clearly Theocritus' concern is not so much with physical attraction, more with what Wilamowitz, op. cit. (above, p. 114, n. 1) p. 175, macaronically terms "das γνησίως παιδεραστεῖν der Akademie." Even before Plato's time an analogous concept of praiseworthy homosexual love had developed among the Dorians. On the significance of such a precedent for an author native to Doric-speaking Syracuse see Gow's note on *Id.* 13,9 (ὅσσα μαθών) as well as col. 2015 of A. von Blumenthal's article s.v. "Theokritos," *RE* V(A) 2001ff. On possible allusions to the same ideal at *Arg.* I 132 (cited below, p. 117) and 1211 (cited below, ibid.) see Faerber, op. cit. (above, p. 3, n. 1) p. 64.

[5] Knaack, loc. cit. (above, n. 1), and Heumann, op. cit. (above, p.

named fountain-nymph who, set astir by Aphrodite, seizes Hylas unawares (I 1228-1239) and that large conclave of nymphs of varied habitat whose performance of rites to the chaste goddess Artemis (1222-1227) forms an ironic backdrop to the amorous scene being enacted close by.[1]

VI

Those who prefer the Theocritean to the Apollonian account argue nonetheless that Hylas' eagerness to fetch water for Heracles and Heracles' dismay at the youth's disappearance are better motivated in the former, since intimate relationship between the two individuals has been emphasized from line 5 onward. Gow complains that Apollonius' presentation is unconvincing because Hylas appears there as "no more than a page or soldier-servant."[2] What he has in mind is the youth's initial mention in the Apollonian Catalogue of Argonauts:

...σὺν καί οἱ Ὕλας κίεν, ἐσθλὸς ὀπάων
πρωθήβης, ἰῶν τε φορεὺς φύλακός τε βιοῖο. [I 131f.][3]

Note, however, that when Hylas actually sets out to find water for Heracles, his alacrity is explained as follows:

δὴ γάρ μιν τοίοισιν ἐν ἤθεσιν αὐτὸς ἔφερβε,[4]
νηπίαχον τὰ πρῶτα δόμων ἐκ πατρὸς ἀπούρας,
δίου Θειοδάμαντος, ὃν ἐν Δρυόπεσσιν ἔπεφνεν
νηλειῶς, βοὸς ἀμφὶ γεωμόρου ἀντιόωντα. [1211-1214][5]

114, n. 2) p. 46, assume, as does Türk, op. cit. (above, p. 114, n. 1) p. 27, that the triadic grouping of attackers is wholly Theocritus' invention. Türk is aware, however (see p. 27, n. 1), that a certain Nychea (fountain rather than fountain-nymph) addresses the reader of the anonymous *AP* IX 684. On triplicity also in Apollonius' Dolionian episode see above, pp. 103f. and p. 104 n. 2.

[1] Cf. the more overt representation of the Artemis-Aphrodite conflict (and of what it symbolizes) in Euripides' *Hippolytus*.

[2] Secund op. cit. (above, p. 54, n. 4) II 231. For a quite different understanding of Hylas' rôle see Blumberg, op. cit. (above, p. 6, n. 2) p. 26, n. 30; Koch, op. cit. (above, p. 28, n. 4) p. 21, n. 2.

[3] The dative in the first verse refers, of course, to Heracles himself. With E. V. Rieu's rendering of ἐσθλὸς ὀπάων as "his noble squire" (p. 38 of the Penguin translation (Harmondsworth, etc., 1959)) contrast Seaton's "a brave *comrade*" (emphasis mine) (op. cit. (above, p. 2, n. 1) p. 11). Still, the former interpretation comes closer to the Greek.

[4] Sc. Ἡρακλῆς or the more epic Ἡρακλέης, which could have replaced the opening word of the next verse, had not the poet been more concerned to stress Hylas' need for protection.

[5] Like Köhnken, op. cit. (above, p. 78, n. 6) p. 46 and nn. 5-6, I retain

The latter statement not only establishes the motivation for Hylas' attitude on a specific occasion, but also makes quite clear that Apollonius has placed Heracles in the foster-fathering rôle which Theocritus conjoins with that of ἐραστής.[1] That the Apollonian Polyphemus appears in the latter capacity is never expressly stated.[2] Yet his very presence would undoubtedly suggest to Alexandrian readers that the poet has availed himself of the tradition which made Polyphemus rather than Heracles the lover of Hylas.[3] Moreover Apollonius has divided up the labors in such a way that it is Polyphemus who first becomes aware of Hylas' distress (1240f.). Heracles is enlisted to render aid only after he and Polyphemus have encountered one another by chance (1253f.).

VII

Detractors of the Apollonian Hylas-narrative object, nonetheless, that the reactions of the two heroes are indistinguishable and that this weakens whatever effect the author may have been trying to create.[4] They point to the good example of Theocritus, whose Hera-

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the received reading at the start of lines 1213 and 1214. Fränkel, op. cit. (above, p. 2, n. 1), p. 144, is right in arguing that Apollonius invests his Heracles "mit einem Missionseifer für Rechtlichkeit und zivilisierte Sitten." Yet his proposal (see p. 145, also the text and apparatus of his edition of the poem) to read δήιου and νηλειῆ (sc. Θειοδάμαντα), the former attested in the *Etymologica*, the latter an emendation, shifts the onus excessively. The poet himself indicates *both* that Theodamas and the Dryopes lived οὔ τι δίκης ἀλέγοντες (1219: cf. *Od.* ι 106ff. for similar characterization of the Cyclopes; concerning other examples of Apollonian and Homeric locutions denotative of disdainful disregard see above, p. 15 and n. 3, also p. 51, n. 2) *and* that Heracles engineered a cattle-dispute simply as an excuse for waging war on them (1216ff.).

[1] Cf. above, p. 116 and n. 4. Consider too, however, the tradition reported by Anticlides in his Δηλιακά (see Schol. Ap. Rh. I 1207 (b) and 1289-1291 (a)): the youth who disappeared while fetching water was not Hylas at all, but Heracles' own scion, Hyllus. According to some versions of the story, it was for the sake of Hyllus, not of Hylas, that Heracles demanded a bull from Theodamas and, failing to gain compliance, slew him. Wilamowitz, for one, discerns the effect here of "anklingende Namen." But which of the two youths belonged to the story originally? Which came in by substitution?

[2] Nor does Apollonius openly call Heracles the lover. See Türk, op. cit. (above, p. 114, n. 1) p. 26; Koch, op. cit. (above, p. 28, n. 4) p. 37.

[3] Cf. above, p. 115 and n. 4. Faerber, loc. cit. (above, p. 116, n. 4 ad fin), maintains that it is a mistake to condemn as "ungeschickt" the inclusion of Polyphemus, whom he understands to have been the *original* lover. He seems to be replying in part to the harsh criticisms set forth by Knaack, locc. citt. (above, p. 114, n. 2).

[4] See especially Knaack, prim. et secund. opp. citt. (above, p. 114, n. 1) pp. 29 and 137 respectively.

cles, disturbed at Hylas' absence, called out thrice (58) and, having received three faint replies (59f.),[1] rushed off on a vain quest, goaded by yearning for the lost youth. His behavior, Theocritus observes, is much like that of a lion who has detected the sound of a nearby fawn and consequently hastens to partake of a ready meal (61-65).

Those who regard Theocritus' treatment as definitive fail once again to perceive that Apollonius, though he relates the same story and utilizes more or less comparable imagery, has resorted here also to conscious division and pairing. Heracles is goaded into insane action (1265f.); Polyphemus behaves like a ravening carnivore (1243f.).[2] A sort of chiasmus has been worked into the paired accounts, moreover. Whereas Heracles calls out to Hylas (1270-1272), as he did in Theocritus' poem—though without specification as to the number of times that he did so—he would have remained ignorant of Hylas' absence, were it not for Polyphemus, who alone of all the Argonauts heard the youth's outcries (1240f.). Through this distinction, as well as through utilization of *matched, but not identical* similes, the author has insured that Polyphemus' rôle in the episode be something more than that of future founder of the city of Cius.[3]

VIII

Apollonius' ability to handle imagery is the concomitant of that architectonic power which some scholars fail to perceive, just as some fail to grasp the aptness and relevance of his similes.[4] That Theocritus, for his part, endows the thirteenth Idyll with an admirably taut structure is manifest enough. Indeed, in its interlocking of motifs[5] the Theocritean Hylas-narrative proves even more closely knit than that of Apollonius. On the other hand, Theocritus' use of imagery in the Idyll in question, attractive and arresting though it may be, has never quite the same germaneness to the very fabric of the plot.[6]

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[1] Cf. p. 113, n. 4 and p. 115, n. 1 above.

[2] These similes are discussed more fully below, pp. 125ff.

[3] On the connection between the hero and the new settlement see above, p. 112 and n. 4.

[4] See above, p. 115 and n. 3 concerning architectonics, on imagery p. 6 and n. 2. Even Mahaffy, loc. cit. (above, ibid.). concedes that the bull-simile of *Arg.* I 1265ff. has been handled very aptly indeed. What Mahaffy deemed an exception happens to be the rule, however.

[5] Cf. above, pp. 114f, below, p. 123.

[6] See Hémardinquer, op. cit. (above, p. 17, n. 3) pp. 141f. Nevertheless Miss Sanchez-Wildberger, op. cit. (above, p. 113, n. 4) p. 14, suggests that a

For Apollonius, as, to a degree, for Theocritus as well, symmetry is a guiding principle. I have already called attention to the former's predilection for division and pairing, in part the structural consequence of a desire to reconcile mythological variants which had hitherto appeared irreconcilable.[1] In the Hylas-narrative, just as elsewhere in the *Argonautica*, two interrelated systems of symmetry have been organized. The one could be termed "concentric," the other "juxtapositional."[2]

Both Apollonius and Theocritus rely on the latter to indicate both division of labor and simultaneity in the carrying out of tasks thus distinguished.[3] Neither author neglects to mention the activities not only of those Argonauts who were making camp, but also of those who prepared the evening meal (*Id.* 13,32ff.; *Arg.* I 1182ff.).

Apollonius' method of pairing simultaneous or successive deeds can be rather subtle, however. Having noted the campmaking and

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curious indirect connection exists in *Id.* 13 between the crew of the Argo and the sailors mentioned in the course of the star-simile (49-52), the very simile which, according to Gow, secund. op. cit. (above, p. 54, n. 4) II 242, "despite its intrinsic merit, does not seem very appropriate." Miss Sanchez-Wildberger's defense of Theocritean imagery extends to 13,10ff. (HYLAS : HERACLES = CHICKS : MOTHER HEN). Assuming without proof the priority of the *Argonautica* to the thirteenth Idyll (controversial, to say the least: see p. 114, nn. 1-2 above), she claims to detect here a reminder of Apollonius' statement that Hylas was νηπίαχος (I 1212: cited above, p. 117 ad fin) when Heracles encountered him for the first time (p. 13).

[1] Cf. p. 116 and n. 3 above.

[2] Cf. p. 111, n. 1 above concerning Köhnken's and Hurst's vocabulary for the former. Would that Hurst, however, had categorized what I call "juxtaposition" through some term other than "symétrie" (p. 42)! Both types are discernible not only in the Catalogue of Argonauts (the former in overall organization, the latter in pairing and tripling within certain entries: consult the table above, pp. 25-28), but also, for example, in the distribution of twin deaths over the outbound voyage (Idmon's and Tiphys': see below, pp. 189ff.) and the return (Canthus' and Mopsus': to be discussed in Vol. II, where the chiastic placement of the demise of the one seer first, of that of the other last will likewise be considered). On the subject of correspondences ranging across the whole of the *Argonautica* see also Lawall, op. cit. (above, p. 44, n. 4) p. 135.

[3] Apollonius' utilization of simultaneity as a structural device is discussed by Händel, op. cit. (above, p. 10, n. 2) pp. 27ff. See also Köhnken, op. cit. (above, p. 78, n. 6) pp. 20ff., who detects complex systems of "Gleichzeitigkeit und Nachzeitigkeit" in addition to "Einzelhandlungen," which last deviate from and lead back to "Gemeinschaftshandlungen." Cf. my remarks, above, pp. 114f., on "dovetailing of general and particular" in Theocritus' thirteenth Idyll. Additional instances of simultaneous action, which he discerns in all four Books of the *Argonautica*, are indicated by Köhnken in an Appendix, pp. 122-124.

dinner preparations, the poet relates how Heracles meanwhile hastened into the forest ὥς κεν ἐρετμόν / οἷ αὐτῶι φθαίη καταχείριον ἐντύνασθαι (1188f.).[1] Once he has described Heracles' actions, which include the uprooting of the fir tree whose wood is to serve as raw material for the broken oar's replacement (1196ff.), Apollonius goes on to tell that at the same time Hylas had departed from the camp with a brazen pitcher ὥς κέ οἱ [sc. Ἡρακλῆϊ] ὕδωρ / φθαίη ἀφυσσάμενος ποτιδόρπιον (1208f.).

By causing the latter statement of purpose to echo the former even verbally the author of the epic has underscored both the close relationship existing between the two heroes[2] and the similarity of their simultaneous endeavors. The initial parallelism, however, can only render all the more shocking the disparity which attends the sequel. Heracles accomplishes a difficult labor with ease; Hylas is frustrated of a far more modest goal.

As for the actual "Rape of Hylas," I have already pointed out that, though Theocritus depicts concerted attack by a triad of amorous nymphs (43ff.), Apollonius establishes an ironic distinction between the large grouping of nymphs gathered in the vicinity (1222ff.) and the single love-struck ravisher (1228ff.).[3] The Apollonian introduction of successive searches for the abducted youth on the part of Polyphemus and of Heracles (1240ff. and 1261ff. respectively), where Theocritus had allowed only a single search carried on by the latter (55ff.), furnishes yet another instance of deliberate division and pairing through juxtaposition.[4]

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[1] The Apollonian Heracles resembles not at all the buffoon-like glutton portrayed by certain earlier poets and even by Callimachus. Heracles as we see him in the *Argonautica* is quite willing to allow his fellow voyagers to revel or to feast without him (such was the case at Lemnos: see above, p. 79, n. 1), since in his own scale of values work must always come first. Even now he foregoes dinner in favor of what he deems more important. See Blumberg, op. cit. (above, p. 6, n. 2) p. 27. Cf. Hémardinquer, op. cit. (above, p. 17, n. 3) p. 67, and Carspecken, op. cit. (above, p. 2, n. 6) pp. 119f., both of whom are impressed with the transfiguration which Apollonius has effected: he retains Heracles' great size and strength and superhuman achievements, yet purges that hero of those traditional grosser qualities which inhibit respect or admiration. See also the discussion above, p. 55, n. 6, and the views of Ardizzoni (paralleled by Carspecken: see also Fränkel, op. cit. (above, p. 2, n. 1) p. 143) and of Lawall contrasted there.

[2] On the nature of that relationship see the discussion above, pp. 115ff.

[3] See above, pp. 116f. Knaack, loc. cit. (above, p. 116, n. 1) misses the point completely.

[4] Cf. above, pp. 116; 119.

IX

Just as what I term "juxtapositional symmetry" seems to be a noteworthy feature even of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*,[1] so "concentric symmetry" has been utilized not only by poets living in Hellenistic times, but by their Roman admirers also. A poem constructed in accordance with this principle, well exemplified in Catullus 64 and 68,[2] will contain a recognizable nucleus (or ὀμφαλός) about midway through. Around the nucleus motifs will be grouped in equidistant pairs.[3] M. M. Gillies finds such a structure in the middle of Bk. III of the *Argonautica*, while the omphalic position in Bk. I assigned to the Lemnian episode has engaged the attention of Anthos Ardizzoni.[4] A beautifully balanced and proportioned arrangement of more or less the same sort may be discerned even in the twenty-third Idyll, whose ascription to Theocritus few are eager to defend.[5]

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[1] On the predilection of Ovid for matching pairs see p. 87 and n. 1 above.

[2] The symmetrical arrangement of these poems has long been acknowledged by investigators. Consider, for example, W. Kroll's diagram of the latter, included in an introductory note at p. 219 of his third annotated edition of Catullus' works (Stuttgart, 1959), and that supplied by F. Skutsch at p. 144 (= *Kleine Schriften*, p. 46) of his "Zum 68. Gedicht Catulls," *RhM* NF XLVII (1892) 138-151.

[3] In employing the modifier "equidistant" I do not mean to imply, however, that the same number of verses necessarily separates corresponding sequences from the nucleus.

[4] Cf. respectively "Apollonius Rhodius III. 616-832," *CR* XXXIX (1925) 115f. (also op. cit. (above, p. 1, n. 4) p. 67), and op. cit. (above, p. 80, n. 3) pp. 100f. (including p. 101, n. 1). Hurst's Schema #15 (see the endpapers to op. cit. (above, p. 9, n. 1), also pp. 88-93) is similar in the main to Gillies' breakdown. Note, however, that it starts not with 616ff. (Medea's dream), but with 609ff. (request of Argus II that Chalciope intervene).

[5] See F. O. Copley, "The Suicide-Paraclausithyron," *TAPA* LXXI (1940) 52-61. Although symmetrical disposition around an ὀμφαλός might be thought an Alexandrian refinement, C. H. Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958) pp. 249-284 (see also his elaborate endpaper diagram), endeavors to demonstrate that the *Iliad* is symmetrically constructed—or, to use his own term, "geometrically": he is convinced that the method arose in conjunction with developments in the visual arts—both as a whole and within the several groupings of which that whole is comprised. For the late fifth century B.C., moreover, M. P. Cunningham has asserted, T. V. Buttrey has confirmed and diagrammed a symmetrical structure in the *Medea* of Euripides. See respectively p. 157 of "Medea ἀπὸ μηχανῆς," *CP* XLIX (1954) 151-160, and pp. 5f. of "Accident and Design in Euripides' *Medea*," *AJP* LXXIX (1958) 1-17. The symmetricality not only of that drama, but also of *Iliad* A, of Theocritus, *Idd.* 13 and 22, of Callimachus, *Hh* 2 and 4, and of Xenophanes, fr. 2D is recognized by Hurst, op. cit. (above, p. 9, n. 1) pp. 164ff. and Schemata ##32-37.

X

In the undeniably Theocritean thirteenth Idyll, however, there appear to be not one, but two nuclei. So the scholiast understood in his introductory comment on the poem:

> ἐκτίθεται δὲ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ὕλαν καὶ Ἡρακλέα· τοῦ μὲν Ὕλα τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Νυμφῶν ἁρπαγήν, τοῦ δὲ Ἡρακλέους τὴν πλάνην καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ὕλα βάσανον.

Arranged around one nucleus, the actual "Rape of Hylas" (36-54), there appear, first, the notice concerning Hylas' education and upbringing under Heracles (5-15), later, the one-line announcement of Hylas' beatification:

> οὕτω μὲν κάλλιστος Ὕλας μακάρων ἀριθμεῖται. [72][1]

Around the other nucleus, Heracles' initial distracted search for his missing protégé (55-65), are concentred the mighty hero's enlistment in and desertion from the Argonautic expedition (16-35 and 66-71 respectively). A brief Appendix, in which the ultimate outcome of Heracles' love-inspired aimless wanderings is shown to be his unexpected reunion with the crew of the Argo (73-75),[2] concludes the demonstration of the generalizing theses stated respectively at the opening of the poem and after the second nucleus:

[1] All are susceptible to love and beauty (1-4).
[2] Lovers are intrepid (66).[3]

XI

Although Apollonius meshes his Appendices with the main Hylas-narrative,[4] he does not produce anything quite comparable to the intertwining of concentric symmetries which we find in the thirteenth Idyll. For the epic poet the Hylas-episode contains only one

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[1] Perhaps this was even more than his mentor had anticipated as he taught the boy all that he himself knew (8f.: partially cited above, p. 116) and trained him for true manhood (14f.). Heracles' own education under several tutors is detailed by Theocritus at 24,105ff.

[2] See above, p. 112, n. 2, concerning the uniqueness of the thirteenth Idyll in this regard.

[3] Gow's rendering of σχέτλιοι οἱ φιλέοντες as "*Reckless* are lovers" (emphasis mine) falls closer to the mark than Perrotta's "Poveri amatori!" (op. cit. (above, p. 114, n. 2) p. 100). On the generally ambiguous significance of the same adjective for Apollonius see above, p. 76, n. 4.

[4] Cf. above, pp. 112f.

nucleus: the "Rape of Hylas" so-called (I 1207-1239). Around it pairs of incidents are symmetrically deployed in such a way that in each case the positive action which precedes has as its counterpart some later action of far graver significance. Debarkation among friendly natives (1172ff.) and a hasty nighttime departure, which took advantage of favorable winds, yet overlooked the absence of Heracles, Hylas, and Polyphemus (1273ff.),[1] are respectively preceded and followed by the two happenings which I take to form the outer limits of the Hylas-narrative proper. A fierce clash of wills (κρατερὸν νεῖκος) (1284), arising the day after embarkation between those who would turn back for the sake of the laggards and those who argue that there must be no further delays, is the unhappy analogue of the light-hearted competition at oarsmanship (ἔρις) (1153) spontaneously essayed as the Argonauts journeyed through the Propontis.[2]

In that contest the most powerful of the competitors accidentally shattered his oar and was forced into unwonted idleness (1161-1171). It was this comparatively minor misfortune which occasioned Heracles' successful search, soon after the landing at the mouth of the River Cius, for timber from which a new oar could be shaped (1188-1206). On the other hand, the major misfortune of the loss of Hylas (himself rendered incapable of completing the task which he undertook when Heracles set off for the woods)[3] cannot be so easily remedied: the strength which uprooted a fir tree with not too much difficulty proves unavailing.

XII

Into this concentrically balanced pairing of incidents the author skilfully introduces a pair of contrasted similes. Whereas Heracles' earlier exploit, the removal of the fir tree, was comparable to a stormwind's pulling a heavy mast from its socket (1201-1205), his anguished and confused and utterly ineffectual search for Hylas resembles rather the panic experienced by a gadfly-tormented bull (1265-1272).[4]

Even success with regard to the fir tree is shown ultimately to

[1] See the discussion above, p. 111, n. 3, and the earlier references listed there ad init.

[2] Concerning the conditions which dictated that oars rather than sails be used for the departure from Dolionia see above, pp. 108f.; p. 109, n. 2.

[3] Cf. above, pp. 120f.

[4] See also p. 126, n. 4 below.

have been a futile waste of time and energy. Once the disappearance of Hylas has been made known to him through Polyphemus' report (1257ff.), Heracles perspires profusely at first (1261f.), then angrily casts away what he has been carrying:

χωόμενος δ' ἐλάτην χαμάδις βάλεν... [1263]

It is as if to say that the feat which he had performed with such strength and expertise (and upon whose narration the author himself had so masterfully applied his descriptive powers)[1] was really rather trivial after all. This rejection of the oar-to-be ironically foreshadows the more immediate consequence of the Mysian adventure for Heracles. Separated from his fellow Argonauts, he will have no use for an oarsman's equipment.[2]

The bewilderment and uncharacteristic ineptitude of Heracles—his forcefulness and ability had been made apparent not only in the incident involving the uprooting of the fir tree, but throughout the epic from the report of his enlistment (I 122f.) until the last occasion for mention of his name (IV 1458-1484)[3]—are given additional emphasis through the Apollonian procedure of splitting up and juxtapositionally pairing separable elements which happen to be combined by Theocritus. The latter's Heracles is both goaded by passionate yearning for Hylas (13,64f.) and comparable to a mighty lion, devourer of raw flesh (61-63). It is this combination of characteristics which accords with the Theocritean generalization about the intrepidity of persons in love.[4]

Apollonius, however, has constructed not, like Theocritus, an independent Hylas-narrative as illustration of one or more general principles,[5] but a complex epic whole in which the loss of Hylas entails the more grievous loss of the hero on whose extraordinary

[1] Cf. Blumberg, loc. cit. (above, p. 121, n. 1).

[2] On futility of heroic accomplishment as a recurring theme in Apollonius' epic see Carspecken, op. cit. (above, p. 2, n. 6) pp. 115f. See also Lawall, op. cit. (above, p. 44, n. 4) passim. "It is doubly ironic," observes the latter, "that it was Heracles' very superabundance of physical strength (i.e. breaking his oar in the contest) that set in motion the chain of events leading to his total frustration" (p. 128).

[3] Cf. Mirmont, op. cit. (above, p. 1, n. 3) p. 373. On Heracles' activities at the time of his being informed about the expedition see especially Händel, locc. citt. (above, p. 35, n. 4).

[4] Cf. above, p. 123 and n. 3.

[5] On the self-sufficiency both of *Id.* 13 and of Propertius I 20 cf. above, p. 110.

powers the Argonauts had hoped to rely and at whose absence they continually express regret.[1]

What seems important, therefore, to the author of the *Argonautica* is the utter demoralization suffered by Heracles after he has learned of his young comrade's—or should we say foster-son's?[2]—disappearance. Hence Heracles' present disorganized state is not only a disillusioning sequel to the exercise of concentrated power which had so recently torn out an entire fir tree by the roots;[3] it is also far more to be lamented than the present state of Polyphemus. The latter hero seems frustrated rather than demoralized.[4] His inability to find Hylas and effect a rescue, though he has heard the youth's startled outcries at the very moment of his capture (1240f.), is thus likened by Apollonius to a hungry predator's lack of success in tracking down flocks whose bleating he has discerned, yet who, meanwhile, have been driven into the fold by herdsmen (1243-1249).

XIII

The simile of the tantalized beast—perhaps both Hellenistic authors are influenced by Homer's enthusiasm for comparisons between heroes and hungry lions[5]—is employed likewise by Theocritus to depict frustration which does not demoralize utterly.[6] In both cases I detect an ironic note. But Apollonius' irony, unlike that of Theocritus, which inheres in the total concept of the poem,[7] is much

[1] Cf. Roux, op. cit. (above, p. 15, n. 3) p. 34. Specific instances are discussed below, Chs. VIIIf., as well as in the article mentioned above, p. 55, n. 6 ad fin.

[2] Cf. pp. 117f. above.

[3] Concerning this instance of contrast through concentric symmetry cf. above, p. 124.

[4] Cf. Blumberg, op. cit. (above, p. 6, n. 2) p. 26; Kulessa, op. cit. (above, p. 3, n. 1) p. 31. Köhnken, op. cit. (above, p. 78, n. 6) p. 77, puts the contrast very succinctly:

...hier gezielte Verfolgung, dort ziellose Panik...

Concerning Polyphemus' more rational response see also the discussion below.

[5] See Fränkel, op. cit. (above, p. 3, n. 1) pp. 59-70 under the rubric "Raubtierschilderungen und Jagdbilder." More recently Fränkel has turned his attention to the frequent recurrence of "das Hungermotiv" in *Arg.* I 1172-1252. See op. cit. (above, p. 22, n. 4) p. 6 and n. 5. Concerning "Durst und Hitze" as important motifs in Bk. IV see pp. 6ff. In the same scholar's latest op. cit. (above, p. 2, n. 1) p. 147 the significance of Polyphemus' figurative hunger is considered yet again.

[6] See *Id.* 13,61ff. and p. 119 above.

[7] Consider too the probably deliberate imprecision of σχέτλιοι οἱ φιλέοντες (66), variously translated above, p. 123 and n. 3.

more closely focussed on the simile itself. Surely it is surprising to equate with a wild beast (ἠΰτε τις θήρ / ἄγριος) (1243f.) the very person who so misconstrues the facts of the disappearance of Hylas as to rush about with drawn sword, fearing as he does lest the lone, defenseless youth have fallen prey to brigands or—mark this!—to wild beasts (1250-1252). Irony is reinforced in Polyphemus' report to Heracles:

> ἀλλά ἑ ληϊστῆρες ἐνιχρίμψαντες ἄγουσιν
> ἢ θῆρες σίνονται· ἐγὼ δ' ἰάχοντος ἄκουσα. (1259f.]

Or have I myself misconstrued? Do not Polyphemus' words serve rather to correct the erroneous impression fostered by a simile which made Hylas the analogue of a vulnerable domestic animal, yet confused the personalities of his protector and his ravisher? Not the nymph, but Polyphemus is comparable to the sollicitous shepherd; not Polyphemus, but the nymph deserves to be likened to the despoiler of the flock.[1]

Nevertheless, by presenting both the original set of analogies,

POLYPHEMUS : PREDATOR = HYLAS : SHEEP = NYMPH : SHEPHERD

and its implied reversal Apollonius has brought to light the pathetic ambiguity in the situations of the several characters involved. The overt relationship of lover and loved (or pursuer and pursued) deviates from the normal pattern in which the male is the aggressor. Indeed, Hylas as seen by the nymph is accorded the sort of description—"blushing with comeliness and sweet graces" (κάλλεϊ καὶ γλυκερῇσιν ἐρευθόμενον χαρίτεσσιν) (1230), "soft mouth" (τέρεν στόμα) (1238)—applicable to the maiden who arouses the desires of some divine or mortal male.[2]

XIV

Covertly, however, as I suggested before, Hylas may also have been the passive partner in a homosexual relationship in which

[1] "Bei Homer," observes Fränkel, op. cit. (above, p. 3, n. 1) p. 60, "ist der Hirte vor allem Schützer seiner Herde, ihr Verteidiger gegen Raubtiere und Diebe." Undoubtedly Apollonius was well aware of this conception.

[2] Cf. Ovid, *Met.*, passim. But note, on the other hand, that Homer employs similar language (κάλλεϊ καὶ χάρισι στίλβων) (*Od.* ζ 237) to describe Odysseus as he appeared to Nausicaä. The parallel has not escaped the attention of Koch, op. cit. (above, p. 28, n. 4) p. 27.

Polyphemus played the active rôle.[1] Possibly the scholiast had this in mind when he remarked, first, that it was appropriate to compare Hylas with a bleating sheep "because of his youthfulness and tender physique" (διὰ τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας νέον καὶ τὸ τοῦ σώματος ἁπαλόν), second, that Polyphemus was comparable to an eagerly listening wild beast "because of his inborn heroic forcefulness" (διὰ τὴν ἔμφυτον τοῦ ἥρωος δύναμιν). Exploits of the latter and his persistent warlike spirit (θυμὸς ἀρήϊος) are given emphasis, be it noted, in the few verses allotted him in the Catalogue of Argonauts (I 40-44).[2]

The motif of the amorous "chase," inaugurated in the nymph's aggression, is thus amplified and altered through the entry of Polyphemus. Now *he* is the pursuer: his figurative lust for audible, yet unseen prey is the counterpart of the love-hunger previously experienced by the nymph (1232ff.).[3] The nymph, however, has won the fully visible object of her desires and need strive no longer. Her subsequent action is more like that of one, a herdsman, for example, protecting prized chattel against those whose hungry urges force them into a life of plundering and depredation.

Though it does not really constitute an analysis, the scholiast's brief observation that the nymph "shut the lad in before Polyphemus could be present to offer aid"[4] both indicates the basis of the nymph-shepherd equation and points to the corrective realignment of the triple simile suggested in Polyphemus' attempt to interpret for himself the significance of Hylas' outcries.

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[1] Cf. above, p. 118.

[2] Also emphasized is his seniority to the other Argonauts. He had taken part in the war between the Centaurs and the Lapiths (41ff.). Already at the time of his enlistment age was beginning to slow him down (τότ' αὖ βαρύθεσκέ οἱ ἤδη / γυῖα) (43f.).

[3] That λιμῶι δ' αἰθόμενος (literally "burning with famine") (1245) conveys erotic connotations is affirmed likewise by Faerber, op. cit. (above, p. 3, n. 1) p. 43, n. 1, and by Köhnken, op. cit. (above, p. 78, n. 6) p. 73, n. 2, denied by Koch, op. cit. (above, p. 28, n. 4) p. 29, n. 1.

[4] So I translate, rather freely, συνεῖρξε τὸν παῖδα πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Πολυφήμου παρουσίας καὶ βοηθείας.

ARGONAUTICA II

SUBDIVIDED AND SCRUTINIZED

CHAPTER EIGHT

ΠΑΡΑ ΒΕΒΡΥΞΙΝ

I

Just as in the case of the two Hylas-narratives, so it has become a habit to engage in controversies with regard to the relative merit and the relative chronology of the Theocritean and Apollonian accounts of the struggle between Polydeuces, the Argonaut, and King Amycus, leader of the Bebryces (*Id.* 22,27-134; *Arg.* II 1-97). Otis and Köhnken are the latest to come to diametrically opposed conclusions: the one insists on the posteriority and superiority, the other on the priority and inferiority of the twenty-second Idyll to the analogous portion of the *Argonautica*.[1] Rather than perpetuate this fashion of making invidious comparisons I shall try to keep always in mind that differing artistic intentions led the two poets to construct their Amycus-narratives differently.

In fact, despite the similarities even between the thirteenth and twenty-second Idylls, the latter is not really the same sort of poem as the former. *Id.* 13 seems more akin to *Id.* 11. Both are addressed to the physician Nicias and both provide generalizations about love and lovers, with specific exemplification through the relationship of Heracles and Hylas in the one instance, through that of Polyphemus (the Cyclops) and Galatea in the other. The quadripartite whole of *Id.* 22, however, has been put together with the express design of glorifying the exploits of the Dioscuri both as a team (Sections i and iv: lines 1-24 and 212-223 respectively)[2] and as individuals successful in single combat. Section iii (137-211) shows Castor triumphant over his cousin Lynceus,[3] just as Section ii (27-

[1] See respectively loc. cit. (above, p. 114, n. 1) and op. cit. (above, p. 78, n. 6) pp. 84-121.

[2] Gow, secund. op. cit. (above, p. 54, n. 4) II 382, declares that the first portion "is a version in the Alexandrian style of the thirty-third Homeric Hymn." Cf. prim. op. cit. (above, ibid). p. 11. The Hymn in question carries the title Εἰς Διοσκούρους in some mss., Εἰς Κάστορα καὶ Πολυδεύκην in others.

[3] On the various embarrassments occasioned by Section iii cf. above, p. 115, n. 2. See also p. 54 and nn. 3-4 above. Though he stresses the cousinship of Lynceus and Idas to Castor and Polydeuces (ἄμφω δ' ἄμμιν ἀνεψιὼ ἐκ πατρός ἐστον) (170: included in a speech addressed by Lynceus to Castor), Theocritus does not acknowledge that all four youths served together as

134), the only portion of the poem which corresponds at all to *Arg.* II 1-97, shows Polydeuces triumphant over Amycus.[1]

II

At the start of Section ii (27ff.) Theocritus makes clear, as he did not until fairly far along into *Id.* 13, that the adventure in question forms part of the Argonautic saga. The ensuing description of activities ashore (32ff.) is duplicated not at all in *Arg.* II 1ff., but rather in two sets of verses which concern events leading up to the seizure of Hylas: *Arg.* I 1182ff. and Theocritus' own *Id.* 13,32ff. These parallelisms, which caught Otis' attention and which he understood as instances of "designed correspondence,"[2] will become readily visible if we set the several passages in juxtaposition:

ἔνθα δ' ἔπειθ' οἱ μὲν ξύλα κάγκανα, τοὶ δὲ λεχαίην
φυλλάδα λειμώνων φέρον ἄσπετον ἀμήσαντες
στόρνυσθαι, τοὶ δ' αὖτε πυρήϊα δινεύεσκον,
οἱ δ' οἶνον κρητῆρσι κέρων πονέοντό τε δαῖτα,
'Εκβασίωι ῥέξαντες ὑπὸ κνέφας 'Απόλλωνι.
[*Arg.* I 1182-1186][3]

ἐκβάντες δ' ἐπὶ θῖνα κατὰ ζυγὰ δαῖτα πένοντο
δειελινοί, πολλοὶ δὲ μίαν στορέσαντο χαμεύναν.
λειμὼν γάρ σφιν ἔκειτο μέγα στιβάδεσσιν ὄνειαρ,
ἔνθεν βούτομον ὀξὺ βαθύν τ' ἐτάμοντο κύπειρον.
[*Id.* 13,32-35]

Argonauts. Apollonius, on the other hand, neither predicts future hostilities nor indicates at all that the Dioscuri and Apharetidae are kin—unless their juxtaposition in the Catalogue of Argonauts (see I 146-150 and 151-155 = ##33-34 and 35-36 in the tabular listing above, p. 27 ad init.) is to be taken as a hint.

[1] Whereas "Orpheus" allows little more than a bare outline of the same story (see *OA* 658-666), Valerius Flaccus (see IV 99f. of his own *Argonautica*) surpasses either Apollonius or Theocritus in inclusiveness. F. Mehmel, *Valerius Flaccus* (Diss., Hamburg, 1934) pp. 41-54, examines not only the Valerian, Theocritean, and Apollonian treatments of the boxing-match waged by Amycus and Polydeuces, but also comparable engagements between Epeüs and Euryalus (*Iliad* Ψ 685-699: see also p. 145, n. 3 below) and between Entellus and Aeneas (Virgil, *Aen.* V 424-467). The more recent contribution of D. Hagopian, *Pollux' Faustkampf mit Amykos* (Vienna and Stuttgart, 1955), ranges less widely. Note the subtitle: *Theokrits Darstellung von demselben verglichen mit derjenigen des Apollonios Rhodios.*

[2] Op. cit. (above, p. 3, n. 5) p. 399.

[3] See Ch. VII above concerning Apollonian stress on division of labor. With regard to the utilization of 'Εκβάσιος etc. as cult-titles of Apollo see above, p. 88 ad fin and n. 3.

ἐκβάντες δ' ἐπὶ θῖνα βαθὺν καὶ ὑπήνεμον ἀκτήν
εὐνάς τ' ἐστόρνυντο πυρεῖά τε χερσὶν ἐνώμων.
[*Id.* 22,32f.]

Whether or not Theocritus can be proved to have imitated Apollonius rather than the reverse (especially in the matter of the firesticks), he surely imitates *himself.* Similarly, just as both poets send Hylas off to fetch water for Heracles (*Id.* 13,36ff.; *Arg.* I 1207ff.), so Apollonius' Heracles goes into the woods to seek timber for a new oar (*Arg.* I 1187ff.),[1] while Theocritus' Castor and Polydeuces wander apart from their fellows to find brushwood (*Id.* 22,34-36). And just as Hylas in both accounts quickly arrives at a spring destined to be the site of his capture (*Id.* 13,39ff.; *Arg.* I 1221ff.), so the Dioscuri of Theocritus discover a spring (*Id.* 22,37ff.) and discover at the same time the menacing Bebrycian leader, King Amycus (44f.).

In both Idylls too the poet from Syracuse includes a feature absent not only from Apollonius' version of the Polydeuces-Amycus confrontation, but from his Hylas-narrative as well. What I have in mind are the descriptions of scenery around either spring. *Idd.* 13,39-42 and 22,37-43 are strongly similar, though the latter, with its considerably altered detail—pines, planes, and cypresses dominate the landscape, as opposed to a locale where flowers and grasses dominated—could hardly be termed a slavish copy of the former.

III

The sequel in the one case is Hylas' capture by nymphs (13,43ff.), in the other the emergence of Amycus to issue his challenge (22, 44ff.). In both instances Theocritus has magnified the drama of the situation through contrast between the lovely setting and the dire events which must transpire there.[2]

[1] On the simultaneity of his and Hylas' quests see above, pp. 120f.

[2] Cf. Hagopian, op. cit. (above, p. 132, n. 1 ad fin.) pp. 10ff.; Köhnken, op. cit. (above, p. 78, n. 6) p. 85. But Legrand, op. cit. (above, p. 113, n. 4 ad fin.) p. 192, expresses doubt that such was Theocritus' own invention. A comparable contrast, original or not, in the twenty-sixth Idyll between the rural calm of lines 1-11 and the Dionysiac fury of lines 12-26 is discussed at pp. 339f. of B. A. van Groningen's "Les Bacchantes de Théocrite," *Miscellanea di studî alessandrini in memoria di A. Rostagni* (Turin, 1963) pp. 338-349. Many an Ovidian transformation takes place under just such conditions. See H. Parry, "Ovid's Metamorphoses: Violence in a Pastoral landscape." *TAPA* XCV (1964) 268-282.

Forests and springs, prominent though they may be in his story of the disappearance of Hylas, Polyphemus, and Heracles, receive no mention whatsoever in Apollonius' Amycus-narrative. Nor do his Dioscuri encounter the ruler of the Bebryces as a result of having wandered off from the main Argonautic party. Instead Amycus himself, having decreed that strangers must expect to face him in a boxing-match (II 5-7), addresses himself to the crew of the Argo upon their arrival and makes clear to them what his "law" entails (11-18).[1]

Still, even in Apollonius' version of the story it is Polydeuces who acts as spokesman for the Argonauts. He replies to Amycus' pronouncements in a brief speech, both courteous and friendly in tone:

> ἴσχεο νῦν, μηδ' ἄμμι κακήν, ὅτις εὔχεαι εἶναι,[2]
> φαῖνε βίην· θεσμοῖς[3] γὰρ ὑπείξομεν, ὡς ἀγορεύεις.
> αὐτὸς ἑκὼν ἤδη τοι ὑπίσχομαι ἀντιάασθαι. [II 22-24]

Theocritus constructs the verbal exchange rather differently. Genuine dialogue occurs, not merely a lone pair of speeches divided between the two antagonists. Once Polydeuces has responded to Amycus' inhospitable greeting, no further conversation occurs in the Apollonian version of their encounter.[4] In Theocritus' version, on the other hand, not only is Polydeuces rather than Amycus the first to speak; his initial query inaugurates a stichomythic ἀγών which continues for a score of verses.

IV

Though a portraiture of opposed personalities is established clearly in the repartee at *Id.* 22,54ff.,[5] already at his very first mention Amycus begins to be characterized. From lines 44f. we learn not

[1] Cf. below and n. 3. With respect to the contradiction between Amycus' arbitrarily created legislation and the divinely ordained rules said to govern behavior of host and guest see pp. 138 f. and p. 139, n. 1 below.

[2] Neither has Amycus asked the newcomers who they are—in fact, he makes a point of not asking (8f.: cf. Valerius Flaccus IV 204f.)—nor has he deigned to reveal his own identity.

[3] Cf. II 5; 148; 150. Polydeuces seems willing to accept Amycus' own use of comparable terminology: the neuter of the adjective θέσμιος (12), the nominative plural of the noun θέμις (17).

[4] At lines 55-59 Amycus, speaking again, will offer Polydeuces his choice of ἱμάντες. The latter instead of answering will smilingly pick up the pair nearest at hand (60-62). In so doing he scores a psychological win which portends the total victory to be attained in the boxing-match itself.

[5] Portions are cited or discussed below, pp. 138-140.

only that this individual—his name, by the way, is not even stated—happens to be frightful to view (δεινὸς ἰδεῖν), thanks to his "cauliflower ear," the mark of one who has been punched often (σκληρῇσι τεθλασμένος οὔατα πυγμαῖς); we learn also that he is arrogant (ὑπέροπλος). Apollonius goes even further and labels him ὑπεροπλήέστατος ἀνδρῶν (II 4).[1] One need hardly hasten to accept the contention of Gow that the real analogue to Theocritus' employment of the adjective comes in the Apollonian reference not to Amycus himself, but to his assistant Oreites as βίην ὑπέροπλος (II 110) and that the Syracusan accordingly "seems to use it here of size or strength *without moral connotation*."[2] It seems to me that *moral connotation* is very much conjoined with *physical denotation* in both poets' initial revelation of Amycus' presence.[3]

Before inaugurating the exchange of words between the two antagonists Theocritus describes Amycus further via a pair of juxtaposed similes. Both emphasize massiveness and power, though in the one case the term of comparison is something man-made,

> στήθεα δ' ἐσφαίρωτο πελώρια[4] καὶ πλατὺ νῶτον
> σαρκὶ σιδηρείῃ, σφυρήλατος οἷα κολοσσός. [22,46f.]

while in the other it happens to be a strictly natural phenomenon. According to Theocritus, the Bebrycian monarch's bulging muscles resemble those rocks which a torrential watercourse polishes to smooth rotundity as it rolls them downstream (48-50).

Analogy with wild nature only is stressed by Valerius Flaccus, who likewise compares Amycus—all of him, not his muscles only—with a rock *(instar scopuli)* (IV 202). The rock chosen for comparison, moreover, is not the passive object of a stream's fury, but a symbol both of supremacy and of isolation:

[1] Cf. below, p. 146. Note that "Orpheus," though he mentions Amycus' insistence on the boxing-match, imputes arrogance rather to the Bebryces collectively (ἔνθ' Ἄμυκος Βεβρύκεσσιν ὑπερφιάλοισιν ἄνασσεν) (*OA* 659) or to the boxing-match itself (θήκατο, πυγμαχίης ὑπερόπλου πειρηθῆναι) (663).

[2] Emphasis mine. Quoted from secund. op. cit. (above, p. 54, n. 4) II 389 ad fin.

[3] Köhnken, op. cit. (above, p. 78, n. 6) p. 98, is aware of a significant distinction, however. He claims that in *Arg.* II "die innere Prägung der Gestalt des Amykos" takes precedence over corporeal bulk. Cf. below. But see also n. 4 and pp. 136f.

[4] Apollonius employs the related word πέλωρ in a simile at II 39 (concerning which see p. 136 below).

...qui montibus altis
summus abit longeque iugo stat *solus* ab omni. [202f.]

V

Although Apollonius attempts nothing really of the same sort as the Theocritean or Valerian efforts quoted or discussed above, inasmuch as he seems less concerned than they with Amycus' prodigious size, he nonetheless resorts to similes, the first of which comes directly after the speeches assigned to the two principal characters. And how Homeric it is! The human agent, as has been true so many times in the *Iliad*, is likened to a lion.[1] But observe again more closely. Apollonius' Amycus, hearing the reply of Polydeuces to his challenge, reacts not like a lion merely, but like a *wounded* lion who ignores the crowd of attackers closing in upon him and fixes his glare rather against the individual who delivered the blow (II 25-29).[2]

Finally the King's enormous size is acknowledged rather indirectly through statement of how he and his opponent differ:

οὐ δέμας οὐδὲ φυὴν ἐναλίγκιοι εἰσοράασθαι. [37][3]

Having merely asserted that the two are *unlike* one another, Apollonius endeavors to make the contrast more concrete by showing what either of the pair is *like*. To do so he constructs not one, but two successive similes. In the former he declares Amycus comparable to a monstrously huge scion of Typhoeus or of Gaia (38-40). Theocritus equates him rather with Tityus (22,94), the very individual who, according to Homer, was so enormous that when he finally met his doom his fallen corpse stretched over nine πέλεθρα (*Od.* λ 577).

[1] Cf. above, p. 126 and n. 5, and keep in mind that Heracles is considered lionlike both by Apollonius and by Theocritus.

[2] A careful analysis of this simile is supplied at p. 145 of H. Fränkel's "Apollonius Rhodius as a Narrator in *Argonautica* 2.1-140," *TAPA* LXXXIII (1952) 144-155. But take into account also the objections raised by H. P. Drögemüller, *Die Gleichnisse im hellenistischen Epos* (Diss., Hamburg, 1956) p. 20, n. 5 (quoted with approval by Köhnken, op. cit. (above, p. 78, n. 6) p. 99, n. 3.

[3] Several Homeric or post-Homeric verses open with the same formula. See *Iliad* Α 115; *Od.* ε 212; η 210; *HH* 3,465. See also Fränkel, op. cit. (above, n. 2) p. 146. Theocritus' μυρίαι οὔτε φυῆς ἐπιδευέες οὔτε νόοιο (22,160: the reference comes from a speech of Lynceus in Section iii) may be patterned not only after the formulaic combination in question, but also after Hesiod, *OD* 129 and *Sc.* 88 (οὔτε φυὴν ἐναλίγκιον οὔτε νόημα) or Xenophanes, fr. 23 B = 19,2 D[3] (οὔτι δέμας θνητοῖσιν ὁμοίϊος οὐδὲ νόημα). These passages and others are quoted by Gow, secund. op. cit. (above, p. 54, n. 4) II 401 ad fin.

The Theocritean simile is introduced at a very different juncture, however. The boxing-match between Polydeuces and Amycus is already in progress, and the former has already delivered some successful punches, whereas the latter drops confusedly into a crouch (88-91). Partisans of both raise a din; but the Argonauts become fearful lest Amycus fall upon Polydeuces with his full weight, much in the manner of Tityus, and overwhelm him thereby (92-94). They need not have worried: Polydeuces' scientific tactics will render ineffective Amycus' brute force.[1]

As for the simile created by Apollonius, Fränkel perceives in it an added dimension. The ancient reader, he believes, saw Amycus himself as the embodiment of fiendish powers associated with the netherworld, the boxing-match as a reminder not only of Zeus' individual victory over Typhoeus, but also of the success of the Olympians in overcoming their adversaries as a group.[2]

Hence the second of the two adjacent similes, that which compares Polydeuces with something as far removed as possible from the realm of Gaia, namely a gleaming star in the heavens (II 40-42), proves eminently meaningful and eminently appropriate. Theocritus likens to the motion of a falling-star Hylas' undesired plunge (13, 49ff.).[3] But what is more likely to have occurred to ancient readers is a recollection that Apollonius' Jason proceeded φαεινῶι ἀστέρι ἶσος (I 774) to the town where Hypsipyle's palace was located,[4] or again that even earlier—before the departure from Thessaly, in fact—a contrast had been established between the Argonauts marching to the harbor, who resembled φαεινοὶ ἀστέρες, and their massed viewers, comparable rather to the clouds amid which the star-gleam shines forth (238-240).[5] Probably Apollonius' original readership

[1] Cf. below, pp. 140f.; 148f. (with p. 148, n. 4 and p. 149, n. 1).

[2] Loc. cit. (above. p. 136, n. 3). Cf. below, pp. 148f. See also Drögemüller, op. cit. (above, p. 136, n. 2) p. 101; Köhnken, op. cit. (above, p. 78, n. 6) p. 105 and nn. 3-4. The latter thinks significant in this regard even the dark hue of Amycus' cloak (mentioned at line 32). Polydeuces' status as son of Zeus (but see p. 138, n. 2 below) ought to be so viewed likewise.

[3] Contrasting views with regard to the appropriateness of this simile are discussed above, p. 119, n. 6.

[4] The entire simile (lines 774-781) is cited above, p. 70 ad init.

[5] Cf. the discussion above, pp. 38.

would have been thinking too of the simile in Bk. I which matches Jason with the god Apollo (307ff.).[1]

Actually yet another image is attached directly to the comparison of Polydeuces with a star. The focus shifts from bright versus dark (Polydeuces versus Amycus) to Polydeuces' youth and strength considered apart—though here too a gleam persists:

> τοῖος ἔην Διὸς υἱός,[2] ἔτι χνοάοντας ἰούλους
> ἀντέλλων, ἔτι φαιδρὸς ἐν ὄμμασιν, ἀλλά οἱ ἀλκή
> καὶ μένος ἠΰτε θηρὸς ἀέξετο... [II 43-45]

"We are thus given to understand," declares Fränkel, commenting on this very simile, "that a civilized and handsome youth is not necessarily a weakling."[3]

VI

Theocritus' Polydeuces too proves to be both a gentleman and an effective fighter. His gentlemanliness, rather comparable to the diplomacy practised at Lemnos by the Apollonian Jason and Aethalides,[4] shows itself from the very start. When he says χαῖρε, ξεῖν', ὅτις ἐσσί ("Hello, stranger, whoever you are") (22,54), he is trying to establish a companionable basis for dealing with Amycus.[5] And just as Homeric ξεῖνοι entertain one another at their homes (ξεινίζειν) and exchange gifts (ξεινήϊα) betokening their peculiar relationship,[6] so Polydeuces promises that Amycus, were he to pay him a visit, would not return empty-handed:

[1] Cited above, p. 39.

[2] Not only Homer, but even Apollonius sometimes nods. Barely two verses earlier "Zeus' son" was called "offspring to Tyndareos" (Τυνδαρίδης). Theocritus proves no less lax in this regard, as scrutiny of the entire twenty-second Idyll will demonstrate.

[3] Loc. cit. (above, p. 136, n. 3).

[4] See Ch. V above. But inasmuch as Polydeuces addresses himself to a hostile interlocutor and is unsuccessful in winning him over by gentle persuasion, the conversations of Jason and of Argus II with King Aeëtes of Colchis (see above, pp. 19ff.: the subject will be examined at greater length in my second volume) might seem to provide an even closer parallel.

[5] Amycus' retort (55) is cited below, p. 139. The term ξένος (or ξεῖνος) can be applied not only to stranger-guests (cf. Chs. V and VI above), but to hosts as well. Ὅτις ἐσσι corresponds to Apollonius' ὅτις εὔχεαι εἶναι (II 22: cited above, p. 134) and is introduced for the same reason: Amycus has failed to identify himself. Cf. p. 134, n. 2 above, but keep in mind (see above, p. 134) that the Theocritean Amycus was not first to speak.

[6] See, for example, *Iliad* Z 215-218. Similar terminology is employed in Apollonius' Lemnian episode. See Ch. V above.

> ...καὶ ξενίων κε τυχὼν πάλιν οἴκαδ' ἱκάνοις. [60]

"Entertain me not!" (μήτε σύ με ξείνιζε) (61), responds Amycus, in no mood for hospitality.[1]

The invitation and offer of gifts are, in fact, a sort of positive response to the surly giant's earlier observation that not he, but Polydeuces was the trespasser (τῆς σῆς γε μὲν οὐκ ἐπιβαίνω) (59). This in turn, along with a curt assertion that he did not pretend to be other than what was obvious (τοιόσδ' οἷον ὁρᾷς) (ibid.), had been provoked by the one utterance which shows Polydeuces clearly losing his patience:

> ἄγριος εἶ, πρὸς πάντα παλίγκοτος ἠδ' ὑπερόπτης; [58][2]

Before this his friendly imperatives, χαῖρε (54) and θάρσει (56), had been rudely mocked:

> χαίρω πῶς, ὅτε τ' ἄνδρας ὁρῶ τοὺς μὴ πρὶν ὄπωπα; [55][3]
> θαρσέω, κοὐκ ἐκ σεῦ με διδάσκεσθαι τόδ' ἔοικεν. [57]

Afterwards, apparently well aware by now what the response is likely to be, he asks whether Amycus will at least supply drinking water (62). Rebuked (63), he offers even to pay for it or to give some other form of remuneration ᾧ κέν σε πίθοιμεν (64).[4] No sooner

[1] Worthy of note is Köhnken's observation, op. cit. (above, p. 78, n. 6) p. 96, that the Apollonian Amycus "weiss genau, was die Regeln des Gastrechts vorschreiben, und setzt sich *ganz bewusst* [emphasis mine] über sie hinweg." The boor portrayed by Theocritus would not have had the wit to make the distinction. On his failure to perceive that Polydeuces may be baiting a trap for him see p. 140 below. Köhnken avers that the imposition by Apollonius' monarch of θέμιστες of his own devising (concerning which see above, p. 134) renders his offense all the graver. Not surprisingly, then, Köhnken sees Polydeuces as an instrument ("Werkzeug") of divine retribution directed against Amycus himself (pp. 96f.: see pp. 97f. for proofs).

[2] Frankly I am rather dubious about the interrogation mark. It is retained by Wilamowitz in the old *Bucolici Graeci* (2 ed., Oxford, 1910), as by Gow in the new, replaced with an ordinary full stop in C. Gallavotti's critical edition of the poems of Theocritus (Rome, 1946). The language of this verse appears to have been imitated and even augmented in an epigram of Straton. See *AP* XII 193. Note too that Aristotle, *EN* Δ 3.1124^a 21, conjoins ὑπερόπται and ὑβρισταί.

[3] Cf. the exchange, likewise stichomythic, between Polymestor and Hecuba at lines 426f. of the Euripidean tragedy named for the latter:

> —χαῖρ', ὦ τεκοῦσα, χαῖρε Κασάνδρα τ' ἐμοί.
> —χαίρουσιν ἄλλοι, μητρὶ δ' οὐκ ἔστιν τόδε.

[4] On the similarity between Polydeucian and Jasonic "gentle persuasion" see above, p. 138 and n. 4. Cf. Lynceus' unheeded ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν / πείθεσθ' (169f.).

has Polydeuces made his offer, however, than Amycus brutally brushes it aside with a declaration that force alone, man against man, will determine the sequel (65).

Amycus fails to realize that he has manoeuvered himself into a trap. For the person whose blandishments he keeps rejecting happens to be a magnificent boxer. Perhaps Polydeuces has deliberately made πυγμάχος (66) the initial word of his response-in-form-of-a-question in order to ensure ground rules most favorable to his own style of fighting. Πὺξ διατεινόμενος (67), replies Amycus, averting the trap not at all, but guaranteeing that he will fall into it.[1] The command that Polydeuces not spare his art (σφετέρης μὴ φείδεο τέχνης) (ibid.) and Amycus' subsequent designation of himself as ὁ πύκτης (69) merely complete the irony. Amycus ascribes τέχνη to his opponent and chooses βία for himself: he has not the intellect to comprehend that in the contest which he has instigated the latter alone will hardly suffice.[2]

VII

Not only does Theocritus supply a verbal duel between the combattants-to-be; he also allows more detailed treatment of the actual physical clash (22,80-130) than does Apollonius (II 67-97). The Syracusan seems much more interested in setting forth a painstakingly realistic account of every stage of the skirmish. His narrative, moreover, is stripped bare of everything which might be considered at all digressive, even imagery.[3] Apollonius, by contrast, crams his version with similes. In the space of thirty-odd verses I count at least four.

The first (II 70-76) may be diagrammed as follows:

POLYDEUCES : AMYCUS = SKILLFUL PILOT : THREATENING WAVE [1]

Whereas Apollonius shows Polydeuces to have kept evading Amycus' initial onslaught through his own contrivance, much as a ship, thanks to the expertise of its clever helmsman (ἰδρείῃ πυκινοῖο κυβερνητῆρος) (72), narrowly averts becoming swamped in rough seas, Theocritus eschews any attempt at such analogies.[2] He simply attributes to Polydeuces *directly* the very quality which is attributed to him *indirectly* by Apollonius. Theocritus' hero, however, employs his ἰδρείη not to avert crushing blows, as is the intent of Polydeuces in the *Argonautica*, but to trick his adversary into fighting with the sun in his eyes (22,85f.)—a stratagem which Apollonius never even mentions.

The second Apollonian simile (II 79-84) compares the pounding to which the two boxers subject one another and the hammer-strokes of shipwrights putting together a seagoing vessel. Again Theocritus attempts no simile, but describes the combat itself—actually the renewal of fighting after Amycus has been knocked down for the first time[3]—via the same verb, θείνειν (22,108), which for Apollonius denotes the action of the shipwrights' hammers (II 81).

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[1] Consider how his opponent was identified at the beginning of the twenty-second Idyll:

...καὶ φοβερὸν Πολυδεύκεα πὺξ ἐρεθίζειν
χεῖρας ἐπιζεύξαντα μέσας βοέοισιν ἱμᾶσιν. [2f.]

Amycus' failure to ask the youth who he was (on the arrogant disinterest of Apollonius' Amycus likewise see above, p. 134, n. 2) has operated to his dire disadvantage.

[2] Cf. above, p. 137, below, p. 148f. One is reminded of the prophecy, relayed to Prometheus by his mother, that the outcome of the struggle between Zeus and the Titans would be decided οὐ κατ' ἰσχὺν οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ καρτερόν / ...δόλωι δέ (Aeschylus, *PV* 212f.: the full context starts at line 199). With regard to the resemblance both of Theocritus' and of Apollonius' Amycus to certain enemies of the Olympian order see pp. 136f. above.

[3] A rare exception is acknowledged below, p. 141, n. 2. Although he deems Theocritus' description of the fight "the more vivid and workmanlike," Gow, secund. op. cit. (above, p. 54, n. 4) II 400, concedes the possibility "that an indecisive first round [so Apollonius] is better than one [so Theocritus] in which Amycus is badly damaged." He also thinks that Apollonius "has a good point in the preliminaries"—the good point being, of course, Polydeuces' refusal to accept the advantage proffered him by Amycus in respect to choice of ἱμάντες. Cf. above, p. 134, n. 4.

[1] Cf. Valerius Flaccus IV 268-272. As usual Valerius, who may surpass Apollonius in some respects (e.g. in the dramatic impact of his narratives), shows himself inferior to his predecessor, so far as handling of imagery is concerned. J. M. K. Martin (see pp. 139f. of "Valerius Flaccus—Poet of Romance," *G&R* VII (1937-1938) 137-148) concedes this point, R. Harmand, *De Valerio Flacco Apollonii Rhodii imitatore* (Diss., Paris: publ. Nancy, 1898) pp. 68-75, does not.

[2] At 93f., however, where the terms of comparison are somewhat different—Amycus is called Τιτυῶι ἐναλίγκιος ἀνήρ (cf. above, p. 137)—a like threat of Polydeuces' being overwhelmed by something enormous is acknowledged by Theocritus. Concerning the Apollonian Tiphys' display of nautical knowledge in averting the threat posed by actual waves (comparable to a mountain) see II 169-171.

[3] Apollonius likewise indicates a break in the trading of blows (II 84-87). See below. It comes about, however, as the result not of a knockdown, but of mutual exhaustion of the combattants, both of whom are sweating now and short of breath. Gow's comment on the distinction is cited above, p. 140, n. 3 ad fin.

In describing the resumption of the fight following a temporary lull Apollonius passes immediately to the third simile (II 88f.). Now the two battlers are found to be comparable to a pair of bulls who vie angrily for possession of a heifer.[1] Theocritus offers nothing analogous until Section iii of the Idyll, where without similes and wholly in the human sphere he brings Castor and Polydeuces into conflict with Lynceus and Idas over who will possess Leucippus' two daughters henceforth.[2]

Apollonius' fourth simile (II 90-92) likewise has to do with cattle:

AMYCUS : POLYDEUCES = OFFICIATING PRIEST : SACRIFICIAL VICTIM

Not all of this is spelled out, however. Polydeuces becomes βοῦς only by implication. But the implication is clear enough: the young boxer's opponent stands on tiptoe and tries to deliver a lethal blow from above, much as a βουτύπος would do.[3]

Luckily Polydeuces moves aside in time to avoid becoming more than the potential analogue of the bovine marked for slaughter. His dodging the full force of the blow (ὁ δ' ἀΐσσοντος ὑπέστη, / κρᾶτα παρακλίνας) (II 92f.) is rather comparable to the evasive action taken by his Theocritean counterpart (ἀλλ' ὅγ' ὑπεξανέδυ) (22, 123). However,[4] whereas in Apollonius' account evasion results in the blow's landing on the shoulder of Polydeuces rather than striking him in the head, Theocritus has his hero not only succeed in hitting Amycus immediately after having escaped harm, but has him strike

[1] Comparisons of human and taurine antagonists are spun out at greater length by Virgil (*Aen.* XII 715-724) and by Ovid (*Met.* IX 42-49). The actual combattants are Aeneas and Daunus in the one instance, Acheloüs and Hercules in the other. Concerning the latter of these two similes as well as Ovid's depiction of Achilles and Cygnus as comparable to an enraged bull and his seemingly invincible adversary in the arena (ibid. XII 98-104) see pp. 356f. of T. F. Brunner's "The Function of the Simile in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*," *CJ* LXI (1965-1966) 354-363.

[2] Concerning the hostilities which develop specifically between Castor and Lynceus see above, p. 54 and nn. 3-4; p. 131 ad fin. and n. 3.

[3] The scholiast both explains the derivation of the name (βουτύπος δέ ἐστιν ὁ τοὺς θυομένους βοῦς τῶι πελέκει τύπτων κατὰ τοῦ αὐχένος) and observes that it was regular procedure for this agent (classified by Byzantine lexicographers as ἱερεύς τις) to stand on tiptoe as he prepared to strike.

[4] Sc. τῆς πληγῆς. The verb is employed with genitive also by Homer (λάθρηι ὑπεξαναδὺς πολιῆς ἁλός) (*Iliad* N 352). Moschus separates off two-thirds of the compound prefix for reconversion into a preposition. Consider 2,118: Νηρεΐδες δ' ἀνέδυσαν ὑπὲξ ἁλός.

his would-be assailant *in the head* with his own shoulder giving the punch reinforcement (123f.).[1]

In Apollonius' account likewise Polydeuces succeeds in delivering a blow to the head of his adversary—indeed, to the same location: for ὑπὲρ οὔατος (II 95) more or less corresponds to the Theocritean ὑπὸ...κρόταφον (22,124).[2] According to Apollonius, this direct hit breaks bones internally and thus proves fatal (II 95-97). Such is not the case in Theocritus' version. When Amycus goes down for the last time, Polydeuces has an opportunity to kill him with ease. Yet he chooses to do no such thing. From his foe, vanquished now and giant no more,[3] he extracts instead a pledge never to molest ξεῖνοι again (22,132-134).[4]

[1] I find Gow's rendering of καὶ ἐπέμπεσεν ὤμωι as "and put his shoulder into the punch" to be quite acceptable.

[2] Actually ὑπὸ σκαιὸν κρόταφον. Theocritus becomes preoccupied with such minutiae as which hand was employed to strike a specific blow and which side of the victim was affected. One would assume that the left side is the destination of a right-handed punch. Thus Amycus' seizure of Polydeuces' left hand with his own left (119) would require a bodily twist—which the poet does not fail to indicate (δοχμὸς ἀπὸ προβολῆς κλινθείς) (120).

[3] Even Gow, secund. op. cit. (above, p. 54, n. 4) II 397, is forced to admit that the description at 22,112f. of shrinkage through perspiration (σάρκες δ' ὧι μὲν ἱδρῶτι συνίζανον, ἐκ μεγάλου δέ / αἶψ' ὀλίγος γένετ' ἀνδρός) "is ridiculous." Cf. Köhnken, op. cit. (above, p. 78, n. 6) p. 112 and n. 5, who quotes Gow's comment with approval, but with the added observation that the alleged simultaneous increase in the size of Polydeuces—his limbs become "sturdier" (πάσσονα) (113)—offends still more grievously. On the possibility that Theocritus was influenced here by Homer see below, p. 156, n. 2.

[4] "Der hellenische Heros ist eine zivilisatorische Macht," declares Wilamowitz, op. cit. (above, p. 114, n. 1) p. 186; "er will die Barbaren nicht mehr ausrotten, sondern hellenisieren." Cf. Blumberg, op. cit. (above, p. 6, n. 2) p. 32. Largely because of this distinction—Amycus slain in Apollonius' version, spared in that of Theocritus—Peschties, op. cit. (above, p. 69, n. 3) pp. 53f., not only concludes that the twenty-second Idyll postdates *Arg.* II; he also endorses the "Korrektur"-theory of Wilamowitz insofar as it applies to *Arg.* I and *Id.* 13 (cf. Ch. VII above). Note, however, that the sparing of Amycus' life is not a Theocritean invention. Epicharmus and Pisander, according to Schol. Ap.Rh. II 98-100 (a), ended their accounts with the Bebrycian ruler merely tied up by Polydeuces. The same is true of the engraved representation on the Ficoroni Cista, executed apparently in the fourth century B.C. by Nouius Plautius and now preserved at the Museo della Villa Giulia in Rome. See Plates XIV-XV at the end of the second volume of Gow's secund. op. cit. (above, p. 54, n. 4). The probability that Theocritus clings to the traditional conception, whereas Apollonius innovates the death of Amycus (comparable versions exist only in retellings of the story by later poets and mythographers: see Valerius Flaccus IV 308ff.; *OA* 658ff. (especially 664f.); Hyginus, *Fab.* 17; Apollodorus I 9,20), is offered by Köhnken, op. cit. (above, p. 78, n. 6) pp. 92ff., as yet another proof that Apollonius' account of the Bebrycian episode was written after that of Theocritus.

VIII

On this note Theocritus concludes his narrative of the encounter between Polydeuces and Amycus and turns to celebration of Castor's far less creditable actions.[1] Apollonius, on the other hand, like Valerius Flaccus later, must concern himself with the exit of the Argonauts from Bebrycian territory. Both epic poets consequently devote considerable attention to the immediate sequel to Amycus' demise. However, whereas Apollonius narrates an additional struggle—a regular pitched battle, in fact—between the Argonauts and the enraged partisans of the deceased (II 98ff.),[2] Valerius claims instead that the Bebryces, cherishing not at all their late ruler, took to flight immediately:

> Bebrycas extemplo spargit fuga; *nullus adempti*
> *regis amor*; montem celeres siluamque capessunt. [IV 315f.]

What I am about to quote was written more than three hundred years before Valerius' time, to be sure. Yet the initial verse of the Apollonian battle-narrative,

> οὐδ' ἄρα Βέβρυκες ἄνδρες ἀφείδησαν[3] βασιλῆος. [II 98]

is worded seemingly as if the poet from Alexandria had intended to rebuke his Roman counterpart for having falsified the temper of the people around Amycus. Apollonius pictures the Bebryces not as cowards concerned only for their own safety, but as stalwart warriors who force the Argonauts into a fiercely fought engagement. The Argonauts win ultimately, of course, but not without difficulty and not without injuries.

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[1] On the culpability of Castor from a moral standpoint see especially p. 54, n. 4 above.

[2] "Orpheus" agrees, but summarizes the entire combat in the space of a single verse (λαοὺς δ' αὖ Βεβρύκων Μινύαι χαλκῶι κατένηραν) (*OA* 666), in contrast to Apollonius, who supplies a detailed and at times rather Homeric account of the fighting. See the discussion below. Wilamowitz, op. cit. (above, p. 114, n. 1) p. 194, suspects that the author of the *Argonautica* invented the clash between the two armies. If so, would this not weaken rather than corroborate the claim, made by Wilamowitz himself at pp. 186f., that Theocritus' Amycus-narrative (which happens to omit reference to any such engagement) postdates its Apollonian counterpart?

[3] = ἠμέλησαν, according to R. C. Seaton. See the first page of his "On the Word ἀφειδεῖν," *CR* XV (1901) 29-31. Choeroboscus reads ἀκήδησαν, which would have meant practically the same thing. The latter reading has been accepted into Merkel's text, though not into either Seaton's or Fränkel's.

Actually Apollonius' account of the fighting is no less "Homeric" than what he wrote about the unfortunate earlier skirmish between the Argonauts and the Doliones.[1] Perhaps Theocritus too was influenced by Homer when he made his boxing-match between Polydeuces and Amycus so detailed and so graphic. At any rate, his preoccupation with which hand did what to which side of the foeman's face or body[2] finds an analogue in the battle of the Argonauts and Bebryces as narrated by Apollonius.[3] Thus we learn, for example, that Castor wounded Itymoneus beneath the chest and with his *right* hand (with the aid of a weapon held therein?)[4] hit Mimas near the *left* eyebrow and clipped off the eyelid. Δρύψε δέ οἱ βλέφαρον (II 109) may owe something to Homer's βραχίονα... / δρύψ' ἀπὸ μυώνων (*Iliad* Π 323f.); yet, whatever the order of priority, there exists an undeniable parallelism between δεξιτερῆι σκαιῆς ὑπὲρ ὀφρύος ἤλασε χειρί (II 108) and the Theocritean reference to what Polydeuces did, among other things, to Amycus in the course of their struggle:

> μέσσης ῥινὸς ὕπερθε κατ' ὀφρύος ἤλασε πυγμῆι [22,104][5]

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[1] On the Homericity of *Arg.* I 1026-1051 see above, pp. 101-103. If the same is what Blumberg, loc. cit. (above, p. 143, n. 4), has in mind when he calls the Apollonian battle of the Argonauts and Bebryces "ganz konventionell," he is probably right. Yet he attributes this conventionality to a very un-Homeric distaste for battle-scenes.

[2] Cf. p. 143, n. 2 above. On Theocritus' attempt at realism in depicting the struggle see also above, pp. 142f. But see above, p. 143, n. 3, for exposure of an embarrassing deviation.

[3] Parallelisms even of vocabulary between the Theocritean and Apollonian accounts of the boxing-match are sufficient to have impelled Köhnken, op. cit. (above, p. 78, n. 6) p. 86, n. 1, to compile a sizeable list, with due acknowledgments to Peschties, op. cit. (above, p. 69, n. 3) pp. 52f., to Gow, prim. op. cit. (above, p. 54, n. 4) p. 11, col. ii, n. 3, and to F. Scheidweiler (see p. 353, n. 1 of "Theokrits achtes Idyll und die zeitliche Folge seiner Gedichte," *AIPO* XI (1951) (= *Mélanges Grégoire* III) 341-360. Though he remains convinced, unlike Peschties, Gow, et al., that Apollonius wrote after Theocritus rather than the converse, Köhnken leaves room for the possibility that both poets were influenced by snch Homeric exemplars as *Iliad* Ψ 664-699 (Epeüs versus Euryalus: see also above, p. 132, n. 1) and *Od.* σ 1-100 (Irus versus Odysseus).

[4] Bnt see n. 5 below.

[5] We could argue, on the one side, that Theocritus is correcting Apollonius through substitution of a noun meaning "fist" for one which means only "hand," on the other, that Apollonins, echoing Theocritus' langnage with only minor modification, has written what he has. If the latter is the case, Apollonius would have done still better to suppress δεξιτερῆι ... χειρί and substitute a more weapons-oriented clausula, such as ἤλασ' ἀκωκῆι or even ἦλυθ' ἀκωκή (formulaic in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*: see Ε 16; 67; Π 478; Ρ 49; Χ 327; χ 16).

IX

I shall not multiply instances of graphic detail. Of more interest is the fact that Apollonius manages to introduce into his battle-narrative two extended similes following closely one upon the other.[1] In the first the Argonauts are compared to wolves who seek to attack a flock of sheep without attracting the attention of shepherds or of guardian hounds, while the Bebryces—at least by implication—become the analogue of the sheep themselves (II 123-129).

One is reminded of the predator-sheep-shepherd simile at I 1243ff.[2] At least three significant distinctions should be noted, however:

[1] Polyphemus is frustrated of his goal, whereas the Argonauts prove successful.

[2] The intentions of the Argonauts toward the Bebryces are genuinely hostile, those of Polyphemus toward Hylas not.

[3] Though an equation between nymph and shepherds is at least temporarily possible in the earlier instance, nothing in the actual world of the struggle between the Argonauts and the Bebryces corresponds to the rôle assigned to shepherds or to sheepdogs in the other leg of the simile.[3]

The only really jarring note in the present case is created by the categorization of the group under attack as ὑπερφίαλοι (II 129). This attribute, more or less identical with that assigned to the late Amycus' attendant Oreites (ὑπέροπλος) (110) or to Amycus himself (ὑπεροπληέστατος) (4),[1] hardly seems to comport with the image of timorous sheep. Still, the addition of λευγαλέως and ἐφόβησαν at either end of line 129 perhaps makes clear that the adjective in question was being used here in a concessive sense: "terrified the Bebryces into flight, arrogant though they were."

And yet it is the second simile (II 130-136) which turns out to be

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[1] "Wieder also sind die Gleichnisse," comments Blumberg, loc. cit. (above, p. 143, n. 4), "der wichtigere Teil der Kampfschilderung." Note that in Bk. I the battle between the Argonauts and the Giants was likewise depicted through similes for the most part. See above, pp. 98-101.

[2] Discussed above, pp. 126-128.

[3] Nor does the present simile convey any of the erotic implications of the former.

[4] Cf. above, p. 135, where the application of the same adjective to Theocritus' Amycus is likewise recorded.

the more striking of the two. Those of the routed foe who escape death at the hands of the Argonauts scatter over the landscape to convey news of the disaster, much as bees, smoked out of their domicile and temporarily soot-blinded, buzz forth in a swarm.[1] Elsewhere Apollonius has drawn analogies between massed humanity and swarms of insects. Yet the context which compared with bees those women of Lemnos who poured forth to greet the Argonauts is happier for the most part, inasmuch as the μέλισσαι of I 879ff. are depicted not as refugees from a smoking hive, but as gleaners of nectar from flowers.[2]

Having completed the simile of the smoked-out bees, Apollonius moves on directly to what must be termed prophecy. He concerns himself with events which have not yet transpired and of which the disadvantaged party remain totally unaware:

> νήπιοι, οὐδ' ἐνόησαν δ δή σφισιν ἐγγύθεν ἄλλο
> πῆμ' ἀΐδηλον ἔην... [II 137f.][3]

What the poet has in mind is the soon-to-be-accomplished extirpation of the remaining Bebryces at the hands of Lycus and the Mariandyni (138ff.).[4] In effect, the prophetic verses put forth by the author become an αἴτιον, functioning to explain why in Hellenistic times there was to be found in Asia Minor no trace of any Bebrycian element whatsoever.[5]

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[1] A rather similar image is employed by Lycophron (293-297).

[2] The possibility that Apollonius here followed the example of Homer and that Virgil imitated both is considered above, p. 80, n. 3.

[3] Similarly Amycus' handlers, Aretus and Ornytus, were labelled νήπιοι at line 66. For even as they tied on his ἱμάντες in preparation for the boxing-match they remained quite unaware (οὐδέ τι ᾔδειν) (65: the use here of what is normally a third-person singular has annoyed commentators, especially C. G. Cobet, *Nouae Lectiones* (Leiden, 1858) p. 467) of the evil destiny which awaited their chief. Valerius Flaccus varies the pattern by stressing rather Amycus' own lack of awareness:

> dixit et urguentis (pro sera piacula!) *fati*
> *nescius* extremum hoc armis innectere palmas
> dat famulis... [IV 252-254]

[4] Cf. 752ff. and see Ch. XII below.

[5] "It is certainly ironic," comments Fränkel, op. cit. (above, p. 136, n. 2) p. 151, "that the men in their flight inland were running toward another enemy invading the country from the opposite direction." He adds an observation that Apollonius "characteristically...presents the coïncidence in psychological rather than factual terms." Cf. the irony of the Dolionian attack on the Argonauts in the mistaken belief that an enemy, the Macrieis, have launched an invasion attempt (I 1022ff.: see above, Ch. VI).

X

The episode—or, rather, its extension beyond II 97—ends with the seizure of local flocks (142ff.), medical treatment for wounded Argonauts (155f.), and sacrifices and banqueting (156ff.). A sympotic songfest (161ff.) is included in celebration of Polydeuces' exploit.[1]

Before the festivities, however, and even despite the Bebrycian rout and the admirable performance of Polydeuces in the boxing-match, there is grumbling among the Argonauts, at least one of whom expresses openly his regret at Heracles' absence:

φράζεσθ' ὅττι κεν ἧισιν ἀναλκείηισιν ἔρεξαν,
εἴ πως Ἡρακλῆα θεὸς καὶ δεῦρο κόμισσεν.
ἤτοι μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ κείνου παρεόντος ἔολπα
οὐδ' ἂν πυγμαχίηι κρινθήμεναι. ἀλλ' ὅτε θεσμούς[2]
ἤλυθεν ἐξερέων, αὐτοῖς ἄφαρ οἷς ἀγόρευεν
θεσμοῖσιν ῥοπάλωι μιν ἀγηνορίης λελαθέσθαι.
ναὶ μὲν ἀκήδεστον γαίηι ἔνι τόνγε λιπόντες
πόντον ἐπέπλωμεν, μάλα δ' ἡμέων αὐτὸς ἕκαστος
εἴσεται οὐλομένην ἄτην ἀπάνευθεν ἐόντος. [145-153]

What the speaker fails to take into account is that recent events, including not only the fistfight in which Polydeuces took part, but also even the disappearance of Heracles, are all elements of a design created by Zeus (τὰ δὲ πάντα Διὸς βουλῆισι τέτυκτο) (154). Has he forgotten that Glaucus imparted that same information soon after Heracles' loss had been discovered?[3] Now if that greatest of Hellenic heroes had been present to pacify Amycus with a single thwack of his trusty club—much as he had bludgeoned a sacrificial ox into insensibility[4]—the whole point of the combat would have been lost.

[1] That Polydeuces must be the individual designated in the phrase κλεῖον δὲ Θεραπναῖον Διὸς υἷα (163) is understood at *EtG* (B) s.v. Θεραπναῖον:

τὸν Πολυδεύκην. Θέραπναι δὲ πόλις Λακεδαιμονίας. Λακεδαιμόνιος δὲ ὁ Πολυδεύκης...

Theocritus associates the same hero rather with Amyclae (22, 122), the neighboring village whose founding seems to have preceded that of Sparta.

[2] Concerning this term, which recurs two verses further on, see also above, p. 134. and n. 3.

[3] See I 1309ff., discussed above, p. 112 and n. 2.

[4] See I 427f. Contrast the "more civilized (if less mighty) course"—Lawall's estimate, quoted not from op. cit. (above, p. 44, n. 4), but from the earlier version mentioned above, p. 47, n. 5—taken by Ancaeus I. That hero employed his brazen axe to sever the victim's neck-tendons (429f.). Here, as

Obviously Heracles would have proved far mightier than the Bebrycian monarch. Yet victory over Amycus, like the acquisition of the Golden Fleece itself, must depend not on force alone (for such is not the intention of Zeus), but on a sort of collaboration between physical prowess and clever contrivance: the very pairing of the seemingly disparate which allowed the Olympians to triumph over the Titans.[1]

elsewhere, Lawall is preoccupied with the dichotomy between βία and τέχνη (concerning which dichotomy cf. above, passim, also below and p. 149, n. 1).

[1] Cf. above, pp. 136f.; 140 and n. 2. When I contrasted "Polydeuces' scientific tactics" and "Amycus' brute force" (above, p. 137), I did not mean to suggest mutual exclusivity. Polydeuces is armed, in fact, with τέχνη and βία both. This puts him at a considerable advantage over Amycus, whose physique is obviously the more powerful, yet who cannot use his strength at all effectively against a wily opponent. Surprising as it may seem, even mighty Heracles resorts to artful devices on occasion. See below, p. 200 and nn.

CHAPTER NINE

ΠΑΡΑ (ΒΙ)ΘΥΝΟΙΣ

I

The story of Phineus is incorporated into a larger Argonautic whole not only by Apollonius (II 178-530), but by Valerius Flaccus (IV 423-636) as well.[1] Both poets, moreover, treat the old man sympathetically, picturing him as an unfortunate victim of excessive divine vengeance. His revelations of divine plans out of concern for mankind's welfare hardly merited irrevocable blinding[2] or even the temporary nuisance of visitations from the rapacious Harpies every time that he tried to consume a meal (so Apollonius II 183ff.; Valerius IV 427ff.).[3]

Apollonius adds some pathetic touches already essayed in another connection elsewhere in his poem. When he allows the blind seer to call himself δυσάμμορος (II 218), he surely calls to mind the use of the same term with reference to Jason's parents (I 253; 286) or, again, Polyxo's complaint that the women of Lemnos, herself included, are to be regarded as such (I 685).[4] And just as Polyxo is

[1] Valerius offers nothing comparable either to Apollonius' digressive Aristaeus-narrative (II 500-527: cf. above, p. 5, n. 1; lines 498f. and 528-530 (concerning which cf. above, p. 59, n. 2; p. 90, n. 3) are transitional to the next episode, the passage of the Symplegades (discussed in Ch. X below)) or to his more integral story of Paraebius (II 449ff.: cf. below, p. 166 and n. 6).

[2] Cf. below, p. 155 and n. 2.

[3] Note the Promethean tone of the Valerian Phineus' utterance:

> fata *loquax* mentemque Iouis quaeque abdita solus
> consilia et terris subito uentura parabat,
> prodideram *miserans hominum genus*... [IV 479-481]

On this subject see also Mehmel, op. cit. (above, p. 132, n. 1) p. 30; Mirmont, op. cit. (above, p. 1, n. 3) p. 206. The fact that both Prometheus and Phineus are subjected to air-borne attack, by the Harpies in the one instance, by an eagle in the other, whose flight even the Argonauts witness (Apollonius II 1246ff.: cf. Valerius V 154-176, though his Argonauts perceive only the eagle's shadow cast upon the ground), engages the attention of C. R. Vermaas, *De fontibus Apollonii Rhodii* (Diss., Leiden, 1897) p. 90. With reference to the sighting of the eagle see also below, pp. 212f. See p. 160 and n. 3 below concerning parallelisms between the rôle of Prometheus in Aeschylus' *PV* and *PS* and that of Phineus in the Apollonian and Valerian *Argonautica*.

[4] Cf. above, pp. 40ff.; 66 and n. 2.

depicted as old, with shrivelled feet, dependent on a cane (I 668-674), so Phineus (II 197-200).[1]

Not surprisingly, when either speaks, the audience—Lemniades in the one case, Argonauts in the other—react favorably. Thus, even though they coincide not at all with the advice previously offered by Queen Hypsipyle, Polyxo's suggestions are adopted (I 697f.).[2] Similarly Phineus' plea for protection against the Harpies (II 215ff.), directed to the Argonauts in general and to the Boreads in particular (see lines 234-239), elicits the sympathy of all, but especially of the Boreads themselves, who are reduced to tears (241f.).[3] Zetes commiserates with the old man (245ff.) and promises to ward off the Harpies (248ff.), but only on condition of a guarantee from Phineus that no divine retaliation will result.[4]

In Valerius' version likewise Phineus must rely on a staff for support (IV 434); yet there is no express mention of withered limbs or of a generally weak constitution. On the other hand, both poets allow the seer to preface his supplication to the Argonauts with an announcement that he can impart to them information essential to the success of their expedition (Apollonius II 209ff.; Valerius IV 436ff.). Both, moreover, allow him to use the fact that *their* sister is also *his* bride as the basis for a special claim on Calaïs' and Zetes' sollicitude (Apollonius II 234-239; Valerius IV 460-464). The Valerian Zetes' response (IV 466-472) proves even more impassioned than that put into the mouth of the same hero by Apollonius (II 244-253).[5]

II

Like Pindar, who rejected stories disrespectful of the gods and who strove in more than one Ode to rehabilitate mortal Ajax, the two celebrators of Argonautic exploits contrive also to expurgate all that might truly redound to Phineus' discredit.[6] A seer who too

[1] Portions of the former passage are quoted above, p. 65 ad fin. Close verbal parallels with the latter are taken into account not only by Phinney, loc. cit. (above, p. 65, n. 2), but also by Ardizzoni, op. cit. (above, p. 80, n. 3) p. 150 and n. 2.

[2] See pp. 66f. above. Note that Hypsipyle herself acceded in the end (I 700f.: cited above, p. 67).

[3] See below, p. 166, for the rationale behind the special plea.

[4] Concerning the exchange of oaths see also p. 166 and n. 3 below.

[5] Yet another instance of Valerius' greater flair for the dramatic (concerning which see above, p. 141, n. 1).

[6] A particular example of Apollonius' having maintained a Pindaric policy

freely shares his knowledge with the rest of mankind may have committed an infraction. His misdeed is hardly the sort to occasion universal opprobrium, however. Another version of the story eliminates even the misdeed, making Phineus choose blindness and long life over a brief existence with eyes intact (Schol. Ap.Rh. II 178-182 (b)).[1] But this is rather the exception than the rule. Traditions regarding Phineus vary widely, as it happens, yet in the main agree in making him not only responsible for his own downfall, but worthy of the harshest punishments also.[2]

For example, there are some authorities who say that more than one Phineus lived and that a bearer of that name, seventh in line from Phoenix—in fact, the very Phineus visited by the Argonauts[3]—had been blinded for plotting against Perses, one of Helios' offspring. More familiar is the explanation to be found already in one of the two lost Phineus-tragedies of Sophocles (fr. 704 J-P), namely that the title-figure's crime consisted in discarding Cleopatra, his first wife, and in heeding the malicious slanders of his second, with the result that he blinded his and Cleopatra's two sons.[4] His own blindness turns out thus to be an instance of application of the *lex talionis*.[5]

"Orpheus," by the way, utilizes the very traditions which the

of expurgation is discussed above, pp. 78f. Indeed, Apollonius differs markedly even from Valerius, whose sympathetic regard for Polyxo (as for Phineus also) does not deter him from presenting sex and violence in a far blunter manner. Cf. p. 78 and n. 4 above.

[1] Concerning the quite opposite response of Apollonius' Idmon, as of Homer's Achilles, to more or less comparable alternatives (early death with glory and long life without) see above, p. 48 and n. 2. What strikes Blumberg, op. cit. (above, p. 6, n. 2) p. 34, is Phineus' ironic inability to see, except with the inward eye. Cf. the case of Teiresias, whose situation is paralleled to some extent even by Oedipus, once the latter has blinded himself in the aftermath of painful ἀναγνώρισις. On the correlative irony of Phineus' being able to help others, but not himself (such was also the plight of Idmon and Mopsus: cf. above, p. 47f.) see Blumberg, loc. cit. The advice of the seer in his professional capacity is sought not only by the Argonauts, but by local residents such as Paraebius (concerning whose consultation see p. 166 below).

[2] The plethora of traditions and the main groupings into which they fall are discussed by O. Jessen s.v. "Phineus" (3), *Roschers Lexikon* III 2,2357-2376.

[3] Concerning the earlier Phineus begotten by Phoenix' brother Agenor see Jessen's article s.v. (2), op. cit. (above, n. 2) coll. 2355-2357.

[4] Sophocles calls them Parthenius and Carambis, their stepmother Idaea. Cf. Apollodorus III 15,3, who similarly identifies the stepmother (Schol. Hom. *Od.* μ 69 calls her Eurytia rather) but lists the sons as Plexippus and Pandion.

[5] Cf. Dottin's comment on *OA* 676. The passage in question (i.e. the fuller context which begins at line 671) is discussed and partially cited below, p. 153.

other epic handlers of the Argonautic story have suppressed in their endeavor to render Phineus worthy of sympathy rather than of opprobrium. Thus Phineus is once again what he was for Sophocles: an arrogant malefactor who, with his second wife egging him on, blinded his own sons and left them to be devoured by beasts (*OA* 671-673). The boys were rescued, according to "Orpheus," and regained their sight (674f.), whereas Phineus himself was rendered blind by way of retribution. Or, at least, so I understand *OA* 675f.:

...Φινεῖ δέ οἱ ὤπασαν ἄτην
ἀργαλέοιο κότου, φωτὸς δ' ἀπενόσφισαν αὐγάς.

Who are the agents of this poetic justice? They are the very individuals, Zetes and Calaïs, whom Apollonius and Valerius convert into Phineus' saviors.[1]

III

Why Apollonius and Valerius should have deviated from the traditions recorded by Sophocles and by later authorities, "Orpheus" included, need not be the subject of controversy. No doubt Blumberg is right in suggesting that out of the welter of conflicting versions of Phineus' story Apollonius combined and reconstructed until he arrived at "die natürlichste und dabei dem hellenistischen Menschen angenehmste."[2] There may be some value, however, in quoting likewise the explanation introduced by Langen into his note on Valerius IV 430:

> Dicitur Phineus filios suos ex priore uxore Cleopatra, sorore Boreadarum, caecasse uel caecari passus esse . . . Huius sceleris ultionem a Phineo per Argonautas petitam esse Diodorus et Apollodorus [IV 43f. and III 15,3[3] respectively] tradunt. Cum autem rerum Argonauticarum scriptores Argonautas *atque inter eos ipsos Cleopatrae prioris uxoris fratres* comiter et benigne exceptos esse [Apollonius II 235ff.; Valerius IV 460ff.][4] hosque Phineo salutem attulisse narraturi essent, fieri non poterat, ut illam de scelere Phinei fabulam seruarent, quare aliam secuti sunt eam, ut dicerent, Phineum propterea caecatum esse et ab Harpyiis uexari, quia Iouis consilia hominibus prodidissent [Apollonius II 179ff.; Valerius IV 478ff.].[5]

[1] Apollodorus appears to be aware of conflicting versions, one of which makes the Boreads, another the gods responsible for the blinding of Phineus. See the passages mentioned below, p. 154.

[2] Op. cit. (above, p. 6, n. 2) p. 33. Blumberg is silent concerning Valerius, unlike Langen, whose remarks are cited in extenso below.

[3] But see below, p. 154.

[4] Cf. above, p. 151.

[5] Langen directs the reader also to Hyginus 19 (concerning whose inconsistencies see the discussion below p. 154).

Credit Valerius and Apollonius with greater alertness than some of the mythographers. Whereas the two poets carefully excise from their epics any information which would render Phineus unworthy of sympathy or which would make implausible his receiving succor from the Boreads, no such compunction deters Hyginus from stating *both* that Phineus blinded the sons of Cleopatra (I 19,1), but was himself blinded for having publicized divine counsels (19,2), *and* that Zetes and Calaïs (called sons of Aquilo and Orithyia without reference to Cleopatra's being their sister) rescued him from the harassments of the Harpies. Apollodorus, meanwhile, relates *both* that the Argonauts, Zetes and Calaïs in particular, defended Phineus against the Harpies *and* that they took vengeance upon him for the wrong which he had done his own and Cleopatra's offspring (I 9,21; III 15,2-3).[1]

Perhaps we should not condemn Apollodorus quite so severely as Hyginus. The latter frequently seems confused; the former tries for the most part to distinguish between conflicting traditions. Elsewhere I have suggested that such a poet as Apollonius Rhodius takes positive delight in reconciling conflicts of this sort through careful blending of discordant elements.[2] In the case of Phineus, however, it becomes imperative that the poet preserve only one set of traditions (or create a new set) and eschew the rest.

A hint of the more usual Apollonian practice may be gleaned from the *Argonautica* of Apollonius' alert successor Valerius. Midway through a reply to Zetes' speech Phineus indicates both that the aid which he requests has divine sanction (*nam uestra uoluntas / haud, iuuenes, sine pace deum*) (IV 476f.) and that it was his propensity for divulging secrets which caused him to be punished in the first place (479ff.).[3] He is willing enough to confess to an "honorable" crime, one committed out of philanthropy. What he hopes to dispel is any notion that he has done something malicious or truly criminal:

...nec credite *culpam*
saeuitiae scelerumue mihi nunc *crimina* pendi. [477f.]

It seems to me that such references to serious malefaction have been deliberately introduced by the Roman author both as a reminder

[1] Cf. *OA* 671ff. (discussed and partially cited above, pp. 152f.), which, however, is happily free from such inconsistencies.
[2] See above, passim (e.g. p. 116, n. 3).
[3] Cited above, p. 150, n. 3.

that he is conscious of alternative traditions regarding Phineus and as a means of furthering that lamentable figure's rehabilitation.

IV

If, then, disclosure of divine secrets to mortals. not mayhem directed against his own progeny, is to be accepted as the misdeed for which the Apollonian or Valerian Phineus must suffer, obviously the old man will have to be most scrupulous in the exercise of his seercraft henceforth, lest he provoke the gods anew. Yet paradoxically he has promised, in exchange for Argonautic aid against the Harpies, to pass on to Jason the information needed for successful completion of the voyage to Colchis. He is in a position, as a matter of fact, to impart to the Argonauts the sort of detail which the late King Cyzicus had been unable to furnish.

Note, however, that ignorance or—worse—lack of curiosity contributed no less to Cyzicus' downfall than did Phineus' display of knowledge contribute to his own.[1] Phineus remains alive, at any rate; and a further display of knowledge—if kept within certain bounds, so as not to excite divine jealousy—could help bring about at least a partial easing of his travail. He will never regain his sight, unfortunately.[2] Yet once Zetes and Calaïs have acted in his behalf, he will be plagued no longer by Harpies.

V

Valerius and Apollonius differ somewhat in presenting Phineus' prophecies and instructions. In the Alexandrian poet's version the seer prefaces his prophetic remarks with a reminder that he intends not to make the same mistake twice. Lest additional divinely instituted punishment be visited upon him, he will restrict his revelations to what the gods permit (II 311-316).[3] The corresponding

[1] Concerning the deficiencies which Apollonius ascribes to Cyzicus see above, p. 97 and n. 3.
[2] The irrevocability of this affliction is made clear in an exchange between Apollonius' Jason, hopeful that the prophet's sight will be restored (II 441f.), and Phineus himself, who knows well that what has happened to him is οὐ παλινάγρετον (444). Note that the very same locution is introduced by Callimachus (*H* 5,103) into the reply of Athena to complaints voiced by Chariclo over the blinding of her son Teiresias, destined to become μάντις *after* rather than before this unfortunate occurrence. Other distinctions between the Apollonian and Callimachean contexts are discussed by Fränkel, op. cit. (above, p. 2, n. 1) p. 188.
[3] Most of line 312 (ὅσσα δ' ὄρωρε θεοῖς φίλον, οὐκ ἐπικεύσω) is quoted by

utterance assigned the old man by Valerius (IV 559f.) not only is much briefer, but also comes after rather than before the Argonauts have carried out their part of the bargain: already the Harpies are gone, having been driven off by Zetes and Calaïs.[1] Furthermore Phineus himself has experienced, if not a metamorphosis, then at any rate an infusion of new strength sufficient to astound his well-wishers; for it is as if he had never been visited with punishment (549-552). Apollonius offers nothing exactly comparable, though his Phineus is at least bathed and fed (II 301ff.) before delivering any prophecies. Possibly Valerius found an exemplar rather in the *Odyssey*, where first for Nausicaä's benefit, later for Penelope's the goddess Athena renders Odysseus himself more impressive physically (μείζονά τ' εἰσιδέειν καὶ πάσσονα) (ζ 230; ψ 157).[2]

VI

Once again I am conscious of a paradox. No sooner has the Apollonian Phineus warned that he will avoid precise exposition, than he inaugurates an extra-long discourse, which stretches all the way to II 407 and is replete not only with detailed instructions for sailing past the dangerous Symplegades (317-345), but also with copious listing of peoples and places to be encountered en route to Colchis (345-401).[3]

Blumberg, op. cit. (above, p. 6, n. 2) p. 35, who thinks Apollonius' technique "sehr geschickt," in that he has established initially the basis for tension ("Spannung") between prophecy and fulfillment. Cf. below, pp. 159f. In this connection see also Blumberg's table of correspondences, pp. 36f., and that supplied by Stoessl, op. cit. (above, p. 10, n. 1) pp. 83f., as well as my own reduction to tabular form (below, pp. 157f. and 159) of the information catalogued at *Arg.* II 347ff.

[1] Actually the Apollonian Zetes and Calaïs have already sped after the Harpies as Phineus begins his oration. They do not return until after he has ceased speaking. See below, pp. 163-166 concerning the pursuit itself and what comes after.

[2] Concerning Odysseus' handsome appearance at the time of the earlier encounter see also p. 127, n. 2 above. The language which I have just quoted is applied similarly at ω 369 to the rejuvenation of Laërtes. At θ 20 and σ 195, where Odysseus himself and Penelope respectively are said to have become beneficiaries of Athena's contrivance, Homer modifies the formula slightly and writes καί μιν μακρότερον [μακροτέρην in the latter instance] καὶ πάσσονα θῆκεν ἰδέσθαι. Theocritus too may have looked to Homeric precedent when he added to his absurd acount of the "shrinkage" of Amycus (22,112f.: cited above, p. 143, n. 3) the claim that Polydeuces, by contrast, αἰεὶ πάσσονα γυῖα / αὐξομένου φορέεσκε πόνου καὶ χροιῆι ἀμείνω (113f.: cf. above, ibid.).

[3] Cf. Circe's account of what Odysseus and his shipmates may expect to experience in the course of their further travels (*Od.* μ 37-141). Included at

More than half of Phineus' speech, therefore, constitutes a Catalogue. And, like other Catalogues introduced into Apollonius' poem, it manages to be varied and interesting[1] as well as highly informative. Practically every ἔθνος or τόπος named in Phineus' speech will be mentioned again later in the course of Bk. II (and in some cases still again in Bk. IV in connection with the return-trip from Colchis), as the Argonauts are shown experiencing personally all that the seer has predicted:[2]

Bithyni (347: cf. 788)[3]
River Rhebas (349: cf. 650; 789)
Cape Black (349: cf. 651)
Island Thynias (350: cf. 673)[4]
Mariandyni (352: cf. 723 etc.)[5]
Cape Acherusi(a)s (354: cf. 728 etc.)

lines 59-72 are references even to the Planctae and to the Argonautic transit thereof on the trip from Colchis, a matter of concern likewise in Bk. IV of Apollonius' poem (with regard to which I shall say more in Vol. II). Parallelisms between the Homeric Circe's rôle and that of the Apollonian Phineus are discussed by Meuli, op. cit. (above, p. 31, n. 2) p. 97, also by Roux, op. cit. (above, p. 15, n. 3) p. 22.

[1] Ardizzoni, op. cit. (above, p. 80, n. 3) p. 155, disagrees, as was to be expected. As was also to be expected (see p. 161), he looks more favorably upon the narrative of the Symplegadic passage (II 553ff.: discussed below, Ch. X).

[2] Cf. the comment of Blumberg cited in part below, pp. 159f. Notable omissions from the Phineic Catalogue of cities or natural features which the Argonauts will actually pass are considered below, p. 161, n. 1.

[3] "Apollonios ne semble pas distinguer," observes Delage, op. cit. (above, p. 3, n. 3) p. 125. "les Thyniens de Thrace et les Bithyniens d'Asie." Crucial to his contention that Apollonius, unlike certain other authorities, places Phineus on the Asiatic side of the Bosporus is the fact that, whereas Phineus' entourage are called Θυνοί at line 529 and their habitat is designated as Θυνηΐς or Θυνὶς γαῖα (177; 460), the island located in the Black Sea near the *Bi*thynian coast is called either Θυνηΐς (350) or Θυνιάς (673). The seer's point at line 347, as I understaud it, is that even after haviug sailed past the Symplegades and into the Black Sea the Argonauts will fiud Bithynia still off to starboard (i.e. south of their course toward Colchis). The refereuce to φῦλα Βιθυνῶν at 788 has to do not with the actual experience of the Argonauts, however, but with exploits performed by Heracles in subduing a number of Asiatic peoples (as recounted by King Lyeus of Mariandynia: see Ch. XII below).

[4] Cf. above, n. 3. Concerning the events which transpire there see below, Ch. XI.

[5] Inasmuch as Bebrycian survivors are destined to fall prey to them, the Mariandyni have been mentioned already at II 138-140. See p. 147. above. On the Argonauts' sojourn in Mariandynia as guests of King Lycus see below, Ch. XII.

River Acheron (355f.: cf. 743 etc.)
Paphlagones (358: cf. 790)
Cape Carambis (360ff.: cf. 943f.)[1]
Polys Aegialus (364f.: cf. 944f.)[2]
River Halys (366f.: cf. 953 etc., also IV 245)
River Iris (367f.: cf. 963)[3]
River Thermodon (370: cf. 805 and 970f.)
Cape Themiscyra (371f.: cf. 965 etc.)
Doeantian Plain (373: cf. 988)
Amazons (373f.: cf. 912 and 965 etc.)[4]
Chalybes (375f.: cf. 1000ff., also I 1323; IV 1474f.)[5]
Tibareni (377: cf. 1010f.)
Cape Zeus Genetaeus (378: cf. 1009)
Mossynoeci (379ff.: cf. 1015ff. etc.)

After mention of certain οἰωνοί whom the Argonauts will be obliged to drive off (382-385: cf. 1033ff.)[6] and of a temple to Ares set up by Amazonian queens (385ff.: cf. 1169ff.)[7] it suddenly occurs to Phineus that he has been speaking too freely for his own good:

... —ἀλλὰ τίη με πάλιν χρειὼ ἀλιτέσθαι
μαντοσύνῃ τὰ ἕκαστα διηνεκὲς ἐξενέποντα; [390f.]

Apparently the seer has come to the realization that he risks foresaking his original pledge to reveal to the Argonauts somewhat less than the whole truth.[8] As for the reader, he may well be reminded

[1] Was one of Phineus' own sons (concerning whom see above, p. 152 and n. 4) thought to have been the eponym of this geographic feature? Apollonius does not say.
[2] Omitted, oddly, from Stoessl's table, though not from Blumberg's (concerning both of which see p. 155, n. 3 above). The latter scholar renders the Greek name as "Aigialosstrand."
[3] Concerning my omission of Ancon (369) from this list see below, p. 161, n. 2.
[4] See also below and n. 7.
[5] On Polyphemus' ill-fated sojourn among them (the concern of the last two passages here listed) see above, p. 112, n. 4, as well as Ch. XII below. Note that whereas Glaucus predicts that hero's demise, but not the Argonautic skirting of the Chalybian homeland, Phineus mentions the latter occurrence, says nothing of the former.
[6] The incident is discussed below, Ch. XIII.
[7] That the Amazons established it is not specified in the second instance. Yet the νηὸν Ἄρηος at which the Argonauts sacrifice is presumably identical with the νηὸν Ἄρηος λαΐνεον mentioned by Phineus.
[8] See 311ff., partially cited above, p. 155, n. 3 ad init.

of the occasion where Apollonius, speaking in his own person, abruptly terminated the account of Heracles' dealings with Theodamas, father of Hylas (I 1211ff.),[1] lest it prove too great a digression from the main line of his narrative:

ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τηλοῦ κεν ἀποπλάγξειεν ἀοιδῆς. [1220]

But it is one thing for the poet himself to digress—actually this résumé proves valuable in showing the basis for strong attachment between Hylas and Heracles[2]—quite another for a seer to blurt out more than other mortals ought to know. Nonetheless lines 392ff. of Bk. II read as if Phineus had never expressed the misgivings which I have quoted. Once again he supplies particulars via a Catalogue, in fact, the same Catalogue carried several steps further. And, as before, each name presented here will recur later in Bk. II:

Philyres (392f.: cf. 1231ff.)
Macrones (393f.: cf. 1242)
Bechires (394: cf. 1242)
Sapires (395: cf. 1243)
Byzeres (396: cf. 1244)
Colchi (397: cf. 1266ff.)[3]

Apart from the personal risk which being too informative might involve, need Phineus have gone into such detail? Could he not, once he had explained how to reach the Black Sea without incurring shipwreck at the Symplegades—this part of the speech was obviously essential—have then contented himself with listing a few landmarks useful to navigation? And would it not have sufficed for him to have made reference only to those ἔθνη which had to be approached with caution? Perhaps Blumberg is right, however, both in defending the Phineic Catalogue,

> Die ganze zweite Hälfte des zweiten Buches *will und muss* von dem Inhalt der Prophezeiung des Phineus aus betrachtet werden.[4]

[1] Partially cited above, p. 117 ad fin.
[2] Cf. above, pp. 117f.
[3] Perhaps I should have listed also Phineus' subsequent mention of localities or of physical features within Colchian territory: e.g. the Amarantian Mountains (399f.), the Circaean Plain (400: cf. III 200, also 213, where ἐκ πεδίοιο clearly refers to the same stretch of land), named, as the scholiast and the early lexicographers tell us, for King Aeëtes' sister Circe, also the River Phasis (401: cf. 1261 etc., including numerous references in Bks. III-IV).
[4] Emphasis mine. Quoted from loc. cit. (above, p. 155, n. 3 ad init.).

and in declaring that thereby there is achieved "eine Spannung zwischen der Weissagung und den wirklichen Abenteuern."[1]

VII

The prophetic oration of Phineus is strongly reminiscent not only of Circe's advice-giving to Odysseus in Bk. μ of the *Odyssey*,[2] but also of the recital of future travels of Io transmitted to that heroïne by Prometheus (Aeschylus, *PV* 707ff.; 790ff.).[3] And just as Phineus knows what adventures the Argonauts have already experienced—this is to be gleaned not from Apollonius, but from Valerius,

> nouimus et diuis geniti quibus et uia iussos
> quae ferat ac uestri rebar sic tempora cursus
> proxima quaeque legens, quantum Vulcania Lemnos
> traxerit, infelix tulerit quae Cyzicus arma.
> sensi et Bebrycio supremam in litore pugnam
> iam propior iamque hoc animam solamine mulcens.
> [IV 438-443][4]

—so Aeschylus' Prometheus in order to demonstrate to Io that his predictions *too* have merit afterwards catalogues the wanderings which have brought the metamorphosed maiden already from Argos to the Caucasus (*PV* 829ff.).

VIII

Valerius has less of a penchant for lists than either Aeschylus or Apollonius, however.[5] His speech of Phineus (IV 533-624) does not

[1] Ibid.
[2] Cf. above, p. 156, n. 3.
[3] Similarly Prometheus, Phineus' analogue in suffering (cf. above, p. 150, n. 3), predicts the route which will be followed by Io's descendant Heracles, destined, like the Boreads, to play the rôle of rescuer. See Aeschylus, frr. 326-329 Mette (preserved from *PS*). Concerning the fact that Heracles is to move through the North and West, Io through the East and South (where, as are the Argonauts, she is destined to reach the vicinity of the dangerous Chalybes (*PV* 714-716) and of the anti-social Amazons (723f.), the latter group due to inhabit the region around Cape Themiscyra and the River Thermodon (724ff.)) see J. H. Finley, Jr., *Pindar and Aeschylus* (= *The Martin Classical Lectures* XIV) (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1955) p. 227.
[4] Surprisingly he has omitted all mention of the disappearance of Hylas (treated already in Bk. III).
[5] Yet lengthy cataloguing is by no means absent from Valerius' *Argonautica*. See both his roster of Argonauts (I 352ff.: cf. above, p. 25 and n. 1, also p. 32) and his later enumeration of the allies of Perses (VI 42ff.), for which there is no Apollonian counterpart, but which seems to owe something rather

bristle with names to at all the same degree as did Apollonius II 347ff. For the most part the seer retains in Valerius' poem that reticence with regard to details which Apollonius had him claiming to uphold even as he piled item upon item. Though some cities, rivers, and landmarks which the Argonauts will pass as they follow the Pontic coastline are omitted from that speech and receive no attention at all until later in Bk. II of Apollonius' epic,[1] such instances are more than overbalanced by repetition in subsequent narrative of names which were first acknowledged in the Catalogue of Phineus. Valerius reverses the procedure. In subsequent narrative (mostly in Bk. V) he duplicates many, but by no means all of the names included by Apollonius; into Phineus' speech he introduces a handful, some of them very aptly indeed through a brief praeteritio:

> quid tibi nubifera surgentem rupe Carambin,
> quid memorem, quas Iris aquas aut torqueat Ancon? [IV 599f.][2]

As usual, Valerius has contrived to do things in a more dramatic way than his Alexandrian predecessor.[3] Would that Apollonius, who so readily avoids ordinary formulaic repetition, had anticipated likewise Valerius' excision of superfluities from Phineus' prophetic

to Virgil's listing of Latin and allied leaders at *Aen.* VII 647ff. The several Catalogues in question are compared by R. W. Garson. See pp. 111f. of the second installment of his "Some Critical Observations on Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*," *CQ* NS XIV (1964) 267-279; XV (1965) 104-120.
[1] Some of the omissions are rather surprising. One would have expected Phineus to include the River Sangarius or the city of Sesamus (mentioned finally at 722 and 941 respectively). On the other hand, the deferral of reference to the River Callichorus and to the Cave Aulion until 904-910 is more easily understandable, since an etymology of both is attempted there.
[2] Like Apollonius (cf. above, p. 158, n. 1), Valerius makes no attempt to link Cape Carambis with Phineus' progeny. Langen in a note ad loc. criticizes Valerius for having so misunderstood his predecessor's mention of Ancon in the company of the Rivers Halys and Iris (II 366ff.) that he converts a town into a stream. Unfortunately Langen too seems to have misunderstood. My own interpretation of Apollonius II 369f., where, following the example of those editors who refrain from capitalizing the word in question, I read κεῖθεν δὲ προτέρωσε μέγας καὶ ὑπείροχος ἀγκών / ἐξανέχει γαίης, suggests neither stream nor town, but a cape or headland whose real name has been suppressed. Cf. Seaton's rendering, "Onward from thence the bend of a huge and towering cape reaches out from the land," also "Plus loin, un coude de terrain s'avance, long et aigu," the contribution of H. de la ville de Mirmont at p. 61 of his annotated translation of Apollonius' poem (Bordeaux and Paris, 1892).
[3] Cf. above, p. 141, n. 1.

speech![1] Would that he had anticipated too the latter-day poet's explanation of why Jason needed to request a *uaticinatio*, despite the inclusion of two professional seers among the Argonauts!

> fidere mens sed nostra nequit, quantumque propinquat
> Phasis et ille operum summus labor, hoc magis angunt
> proxima, nec uates sat iam mihi Mopsus et Idmon. [IV 544-546][2]

Valerius and Apollonius differ also with regard to the immediate reaction which Phineus' prophecies engendered. Whereas the one shows the Argonauts to have become demoralized and speechless (τοὺς δ' εἶθαρ ἕλεν δέος εἰσαΐοντας, / δὴν δ' ἔσαν ἀμφασίῃι βεβολημένοι) (II 408f.),[3] their leader able to respond only after a long interval and while still ἀμηχανέων κακότητι (409f.)[4]—note too the despairing tone which persists to the very close of his speech to Phineus:

> πῶς ἕρδω, πῶς αὖτε τόσην ἁλὸς εἶμι κέλευθον,
> νῆϊς ἐὼν ἑτάροις ἅμα νήϊσιν[5]—Αἶα δὲ Κολχὶς
> Πόντου καὶ γαίης ἐπικέκλιται ἐσχατιῇσιν; [416-418]

—the other portrays a Jason who behaves much more like a leader, one whose concern it is to bolster the morale of his comrades:

> tum subita resides socios formidine Iason
> praecipitat rumpitque moras tempusque timendi. [IV 626f.][6]

[1] On Apollonian avoidance of the repetitive for the most part see pp. 67f. and p. 68 n. 1 above. As for the speech of Apollonius' Phineus, consider not only the defense essayed by Blumberg (quoted above, p. 159f.), but also the possibility that ἠθοποιίας χάριν the speaker has been allowed to become as long-winded as Homer's or, worse still, Ovid's Nestor.

[2] "Non feliciter res cessit Valerio," objects Langen in a comment ad loc., "cum Iasonem propterea de futuris Phineum consulentem facit, quod Mopso et Idmoni diffidit, cuius diffidentia nulla erat causa." But I think that he has missed the point. As I see it, Valerius' Jason entertains misgivings about his two regular seers only in respect to the particular kind of information here requested.

[3] Cf. above, p. 40, n. 2. Possibly Apollonius has taken his cue from the Homeric δὴν δέ μιν ἀμφασίη ἐπέων λάβε (*Iliad* P 695; *Od.* δ 704).

[4] For comparison of the frequency with which Jason alone and the Argonauts en masse are called "helpless" see above, p. 49, n. 2.

[5] Apparently this indictment covers all the specialists who have joined the expedition, not excluding Idmon and Mopsus. But see above, and n. 2, concerning the Valerian Jason's more direct expression of lack of confidence in his seers.

[6] The conscious effort of Valerius to replace the passive Jason of Apollonius (who on more than one occasion has to have his own morale bolstered by his fellows rather than the converse: see, for example, pp. 172ff. below) with a Jason who would once again be a "true hero and leader" (as he had been in Pindar's fourth Pythian Ode: see G. Norwood, *Pindar* (= *Sather Classical Lectures* XIX) (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1945) pp. 37ff.) is discussed in some detail by Garson, op. cit. (above, p. 110, n. 4) pp. 263-265. See also pp. 109f. of the second installment of his other op. cit. (above, p. 160, n. 5).

IX

In contrast to his Amycus-narrative and its extension (the narrative of the battle between the Argonauts and Bebryces), wherein altogether I count at least ten similes,[1] imagery proves rather scarce in Apollonius' story of Phineus. This is quite understandable. Hostile confrontation, first of Polydeuces and Amycus, later of the Argonauts and Bebryces collectively, allows for little talk and much action. And it is the action which shows so many analogies with other kinds of happenings. On the other hand, contact between the blind seer and the Argonauts seems quite friendly, with verbal communication predominant. The only similes occur rather, as was to be expected, in action-sequences such as that at II 278-283:

ZETES AND CALAÏS : HARPIES = PURSUING HOUNDS : GOATS OR DEER [2]

How ironic that the Harpies, who only a few verses later will be called Διὸς κύνες (289),[3] should here be equated not with hounds, but with that which hounds are chasing!

Also connected with the doings of the Harpies is the one other simile which Apollonius has seen fit to introduce into his Phineus-narrative. Just before the Boreads launch their pursuit of these disturbers of the blind seer's peace a meal is prepared: the two youths themselves stand guard (263-266). No sooner has the food been set before Phineus, than the Harpies, true to their name (apparently traceable to the same root as is the verb ἁρπάζειν), swoop down to *snatch* it away, descending from the clouds "like harsh

[1] See above, pp. 136-138; 140-143; 146f.

[2] Cf. *Iliad* K 360-364 (DIOMEDES AND ODYSSEUS : DOLON = PURSUING HOUNDS : DEER OR HARE) and *Od.* ρ 294f. (not a simile, but a brief reference to how Odysseus' hound Argus was sent out to stalk wild goats, deer, and hares). More elaborate treatment of essentially the same image is attempted by Virgil and Ovid. See respectively *Aen.* XII 746ff., where Aeneas is the pursuer, Turnus the pursued, and *Met.* I 533ff., where the analogues of hound and hare are Apollo and Daphne respectively.

[3] Apollonius may have conflated the Harpies with the Erinyes. An explanation of their possible connection is essayed by H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology*[5] (London, 1953) pp. 87f. The essential attribute of the Harpies, however, is not canine keen-scentedness, but a rather avian capacity for swift flight. See below, p. 164, also above, p. 105, n. 5.

storm-winds or lightning-flashes" (ἠΰτ' ἄελλαι ἀδευκέες ἢ στεροπαὶ ὥς) (267).

Possibly the poet has resorted to such comparisons in recollection of the possibility that the Harpies were nothing more than meteorological phenomena originally, to which a fanciful personification had been superadded.[1] Note that Hesiod identified one of these creatures as "Storm-Wind" (Ἀελλώ) (*Theog.* 267), another as "Swift-Wing" (Ὠκυπέτη) (ibid.), then, perhaps himself engaging in etymological word-play, appended a relative clause:

> αἵ ῥ' ἀνέμων πνοιῇσι καὶ οἰωνοῖς ἅμ' ἕπονται
> ὠκείῃς πτερύγεσσι... [268f.][2]

Note too that elsewhere in the *Argonautica*—namely with reference to the sudden change of weather which drove the Argonauts back to the land of the Doliones—Apollonius reverses the image and depicts the Harpy-like behavior of actual gusts of wind:

> ...ἀλλὰ θύελλαι
> ἀντίαι ἁρπάγδην ὀπίσω φέρον... [I 1016f.][3]

X

If the sudden arrival and speedy dispersal of the Harpies lent themselves to εἰκόνες and even to a hint of ἐτυμολογία, the abortive pursuit inaugurated by the Boreads (whom Iris dissuades from destroying them) (II 284ff.)[4] becomes the pretext for an αἴτιον typical of Apollonius' manner:

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[1] Cf. Cunliffe and Ebeling, opp. citt. (above, p. 41, n. 1) s.v. Ἅρπυια. Both lexicographers so understand the occurrence of the name at *Od.* α 241 = ξ 371 and at υ 77 (which last is cited below, n. 3). "But because Homer and Hesiod [concerning the latter see below] in all probability thought the Harpies were wind-spirits," contends Rose, op. cit. (above, p. 163, n. 3) p. 28, whose scepticism appears to be directed at no particular fellow scholar, "it does not necessarily follow that they originally were such."

[2] Cf. the statement that whenever the Harpies approached Phineus or departed from his presence they "used ever to outstrip the blasts of the west wind" (translated by Seaton from Apollonius' ζεφύροιο παραΐσσεσκον ἀέλλας) (II 276).

[3] Concerning the incident itself and its consequences see Ch. VI above. A scholium ad loc. compares *Od.* υ 66 (ὡς δ' ὅτε Πανδαρέου κούρας ἀνέλοντο θύελλαι) and 77 (τόφρα δὲ τὰς κούρας ἅρπυιαι ἀνηρείψαντο). Yet I suspect that Apollonius has modelled his verses about the storm-battered Argo rather more closely after κ 48 (τοὺς δ' αἶψ' ἁρπάξασα φέρεν πόντονδε θύελλα), a succinct report of what happened immediately after Odysseus' companions had opened the bag of winds supplied by Aeolus.

[4] Iris would have a special interest in protecting the Harpies from harm.

> οἱ δ' ὅρκωι εἴξαντες ὑπέστρεφον ἂψ ἐπὶ νῆα
> σώεσθαι· Στροφάδας δὲ μετακλείουσ' ἄνθρωποι
> νήσους τοῖο ἕκητι, πάρος Πλωτὰς καλέοντες. [295-297][1]

Similarly Valerius observes that the newer appellation of the islands is now current:

> iamque et ad Ionii metas atque intima tendunt
> saxa; *uocat* magni *Strophadas nunc* incola Ponti. [IV 512f.]

The Roman poet's two verses barely constitute an αἴτιον not so much because of failure to mention the original name as because the Latin language provides no verb which both sounds the same and means the same thing as ὑποστρέφειν. It is left for Langen to adjoin an explanation to his text of the poem—an explanation, by the way, which reads almost as if it were a translation from Apollonius:

> Hae insulae *antea Plotae dictae* ideo *Strophades* uocatae sunt, quod inde *conuersi* Boreadae *reuerterunt*.[2]

But ancient readers of Valerius' epic, acquainted as they probably were with the work of his Greek predecessor as well, could easily have filled in the gaps without a commentator's aid.

XI

The return of the Boreads from their mission (II 426ff.) affords Apollonius once again an opportunity to show that in some respects,

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According to Hesiod, *Theog.* 266f., she is their sister. Apollonius says nothing about this relationship, however, while Valerius assigns the speech of dissuasion (IV 519ff.) not to Iris, but to Zetes' and Calaïs' own sire. In a tradition from which these authors have divorced themselves, a tradition followed rather by Ibycus (fr. 49 B⁴ = 11 Page) and by Aeschylus (fr. 436 Mette: from the lost *Phineus*), the Harpies are actually slain.

[1] For exemplification of πάρος we need go back no further than line 285, where the old name is employed (νήσοισιν ἔπι Πλωτῇσι κιχόντες) without any suggestion that it is about to fall into disuse.

[2] Langen lists as testimonia not only Apollonius II 295ff. and scholia ad loc., but also Servius in *Aen.* III 209. It was possible for Servius in his commentary to do what Valerius in his epic could not: i.e. introduce the relevant Greek term:

> et cum ulterius uellent tendere, ab Iride admoniti ut desisterent ab Iouis canibus [cf. p. 163 and n. 3 above] suos *conuertunt uolatus*: quorum *conuersio*, id est στροφή, nomen insulis dedit.

Apollodorus I 9,21 (listed also by Langen) relates the name of the islands—formerly called Ἐχινάδες, he states, nowhere mentioning the term Πλωταί—rather to the escape of one of the Harpies.

at least, he has improved upon Homer. Had the earlier poet been presenting Zetes' report of the action against the Harpies, he might very well have repeated the speech of Iris verbatim; for such was his frequent practice. For Apollonius, of course, verbatim repetitions are rare.[1] More typical is his shrinkage here of seventeen verses (284-300) down to five (430-434).[2] Part of the effectiveness of the résumé may be credited to the poet's judicious use of verbal echoing:

κατέρυκεν (287)...ἐρύκακε (432)
ὅρκια (289) and ὅρκωι (295)...ὅρκια (433)[3]
ἔδυσαν / κευθμῶνα (298f.)...ὑπέδυσαν / ...ἄντρον (433f.)[4]

XII

Phineus' granting of a private audience to Paraebius, one of many in need of professional services (II 449ff.), and his subsequent revelation of the misdeeds of Paraebius' father (474ff.)[5] constitute a digression, so far as the quest for the Golden Fleece is concerned. Yet because these forty-odd verses show Phineus, no longer a piteous figure, restored to his normal rôle as benefactor of mankind and moral teacher,[6] they become really the climax to the sequence of

[1] An example (I 712-716 more or less = I 703-707) is cited above, p. 67.

[2] The actual speech of Iris occupies only three verses (288-290), its recounting only one-and-a-half (432f.).

[3] Preoccupation with oaths is characteristic not only of the encounter between Iris and the Boreads, but of the Phineus-narrative as a whole. Note that guarantees must be secured on both sides (see 218-220 and 248-253) before Phineus will prophesy to the Argonauts or Zetes and Calaïs will drive off the Harpies.

[4] The retirement of the Harpies into a cave, even if not at Athens, likewise calls to mind the traditions surrounding the group with which they are sometimes confused: the Erinyes. Concerning the confusion itself see also above, p. 163, n. 3.

[5] Like Erysichthon in Callimachus' sixth Hymn (as also in Bk. VIII of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*), he had refused to heed the pleadings of a hamadryad and had cut down the tree with which the latter was associated. Concerning the parallelism see Stoessl, op. cit. (above, p. 10, n. 1) p. 90 and n. 38. Paraebius' father seems not to have been punished with starvation, however, as was Erysichthon. The former's ἀμπλακίη (this term is employed twice: see lines 476 and 484) must be requited rather by the son through the not so drastic procedure of constructing an altar to the aggrieved nymph.

[6] Normal, that is, so far as Apollonius and Valerius are concerned. On the norm understood by other authors see above, pp. 151ff. Note, however, that Valerius omits from his Phineus-narrative all reference to Paraebius' consultation of the seer. Blumberg, loc. cit. (above, p. 152, n. 1), suspects that the story was freely invented by Apollonius. Cf. Wilamowitz, op. cit. (above, p. 44, n. 4) II 222, n. 3. In Apollonius' acconnt the process of restoration was

events which began with the arrival of the Argonauts in the "Thynian Land." Perhaps too this glimpse of renewed confidence and of effective ministrations to others strengthens the determination of Jason and his men to carry out the seer's instructions wherever applicable subsequently.

A pair of reminiscences may be noted already in Bk. V of the Valerian epic, first upon the occasion of Idmon's death,

at memor Aesonides nimium iam uera locuti
Phineos hinc alios rapto pauet Idmone luctus. [4f.][1]

again in the rather Virgilian *et monitus non temnere Phinei* (127).[2]

In Apollonius' *Argonautica*, however, such references are much more frequent. Tiphys advises Jason not to fear, since Phineus has predicted a good outcome for the expedition (II 617f.). The same prediction is in Jason's mind as he addresses the Argonauts at 644-647. At 769f. Jason, again the speaker, conveys to King Lycus of Mariandynia the story of Phineus' woes as well as how his seercraft enabled the Argo to be brought past the Symplegades safely.[3]

Even the poet in his own person inquires into the seer's thinking (1090-1092) in a passage transitional between narratives of contrasting incidents at the Island Aretias: the encounter with hostile birds (1030-1089) and the friendly meeting with the shipwrecked sons of Phrixus (1093ff.). Both those situations, moreover, are cause for reference to Phineic admonitions or prophecies:

...ἀλλά τιν' ἄλλην
μῆτιν πορσύνωμεν ἐπίρροθον, εἴ γ' ἐπικέλσαι
μέλλετε, Φινῆος μεμνημένοι ὡς ἐπέτελλεν. [1049-1051]

already underway even before the routing of the Harpies at the time when the Argonauts stripped Phineus of his rags and cleansed his body thoroughly (II 301ff.: cf. above, p. 156). Concerning the declaration of Valerius that a new upsurge of vigor was bestowed upon the seer as he prepared to prophesy (IV 549ff.) see above, pp. 155f.

[1] Though he devotes much attention to the death of the younger practitioner of μαντική (see above, pp. 36 and 47f., also below, Ch. XII), Apollonius furnishes nothing comparable to the suggestion of Valerius that some relationship exists between the demise of Idmon and Phineus' extreme accuracy. However, I wonder whether *nimium iam vera locuti* might not refer rather to that readiness to divulge information which itself led to Phineus' own blinding and other troubles (concerning which see above, pp. 150; 154f.).

[2] Cf. *Aen.* VI 620:

discite iustitiam *moniti* et *non temnere* diuos.

[3] Concerning the several situations in question see Chs. X-XII below.

τὸν δ' αὖτ' Αἴσονος υἱὸς ἐπιφραδέως ἐρέεινε,
μαντοσύνας Φινῆος ὀϊσσάμενος τελέεσθαι. [1134f.][1]

Recollection of what Phineus said has as its counterpart the recurrent preoccupation of the Argonauts with what Heracles did or with what he might have done, had he not been disjoined from the expedition.[2] Sometimes the two series intersect, as in the speeches of Jason to Lycus (II 766ff.) and of Amphidamas to the Argonauts as a group (1049ff.).[3] Both kinds of reminiscence promote *unity of plot* in a poem which the less alert tend to view as a collection of unrelated episodes.[4]

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[1] In the one case Amphidamas is the speaker, the Argonauts as a group the addressee; in the other Jason addresses himself to Argus II. See Ch. XIII below concerning both incidents. Discussion of the seer's impact on events in Bks. III and IV (which happens to be far from insignificant) will be deferred until the second volume of this study.

[2] A notable example of that latter preoccupation is quoted and discussed above, pp. 148f.

[3] Cf. above. In quoting from the latter speech I deliberately suppressed the reference to Heracles which began at line 1052. For discussion of how Lycus and Amphidamas called attention to Heracles' achievements or to his example see below, Chs. XII and XIII.

[4] On the interdependence of the whole and the part see especially above, p. 110. Lawall too is struck by the unifying function of recurrent reminiscence both of Heracles and of Phineus. See op. cit. (above, p. 44, n. 4) p. 125, n. 11, where Lawall finds similar justification also for the prominence assigned to winged creatures throughout the poem (concerning which see p. 105, n. 5 above).

CHAPTER TEN

ΔΙΑ ΣΥΜΠΛΗΓΑΔΩΝ[1]

I

As in the action-crammed Amycus-narrative and its extension, that portion of Apollonius' *Argonautica* which has to do with the Symplegadic transit (II 531ff.) is replete with similes.[2] I detect at least half-a-dozen:

[1] ATHENA'S SPEEDY FLIGHT : WANDERER'S SWIFT-MOVING THOUGHTS OF HOME (541-548)
[2] SEA-FOAM : CLOUD (565f.)
[3] HUGE WAVE : SHEER CLIFF (580f.)
[4] BENT OAR-HANDLES : CURVING BOWS (591f.)
[5] ARGO SKIMMING OVER WAVE : ROLLING CYLINDER (594f.)
[6] AIR-BORNE ATHENA : WINGED ARROW (600)[3]

Of those which I have listed only the first is a long simile after the Homeric manner, with the familiar imbalance between the actual situation (assigned two verses in the present instance) and that with which it is compared (here six verses). The rest are extremely brief. Indeed, the counterpart of the larger limb of the long simile is compressed to a bare two or three words, one of them a standardized element whose function it is to signal the simile's existence. With ὡς δ' ὅτε τις πάτρηθεν ἀλώμενος κτλ. (541-546) contrast νέφος ὥς (566),

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[1] The term Συμπληγάδες (sc. πέτραι) = Valerius' singular *Symplegas* (IV 221; V 299) is employed neither by Apollonius nor by "Orpheus." The latter prefers Κυάνεαι (with or without πέτραι added) (682; 709; 1160); the former writes sometimes πέτραι Κυάνεαι (I 2f.; II 317f.; 770; IV 304; 1002f.), sometimes Πληγάδες (II 596; 645), most often merely πέτραι (II 330; 340; 346 (cited below, p. 171); 412; 420; 553; 558; 577; 587; 616; 892; 1190; IV 1254), though a pejorative modifier such as στυγεραί or ὀλοαί (see II 412 and 420 respectively) may be attached.

[2] On the difference between the Amycus- and Phineus-narratives in this regard see above, p. 163.

[3] It is no accident, I suspect, that Athena's departure as well as her arrival should be commemorated with a simile. Or have I misinterpreted the somewhat ambiguous ἡ δ' with which line 600 begins? Should the comparison be understood rather as AIR-BORNE ARGO : WINGED ARROW? The latter view dictates Mirmont's translation and Rieu's, the former Seaton's.

ἀποτμῆγι σκοπιῆι ἴσον (581), ἠΰτε καμπύλα τόξα (592), ὥστε κυλίνδρωι (594), ἰκέλη πτερόεντι...ὀϊστῶι (600).

Note that the comparison of wave and cliff listed here as Image #3 reverses the Amycus-wave comparison of II 70-76. For there Polydeuces facing his gigantic adversary found himself in much the same plight as a helmsman whose ship is threatened by a monstrous billow.[1] Here Tiphys, the real pilot, must protect the Argo from the comparable threat which a mountain-like real wave poses.[2]

II

But Tiphys' skill, even conjoined with the might of Argonautic oarsmen, would not have sufficed to avert the additional danger which an attempted traversal of the Symplegades entails. Intervention on the part of Athena becomes crucial therefore.[3] With one hand the goddess wrenches the ship loose, with the other shoves it ahead (598f.), enabling it to pass between the clashing rocks with no more damage than the loss of a stern-ornament (601f.).

"As the dove lost its tail-feathers," observes Mooney, "so the Argo lost the carving on its stern."[4] He might have pointed out at

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[1] Concerning this simile and its Valerian imitation (IV 268ff.) see above, p. 141, and n. 1. The similes introduced by Valerius in connection with the actual Symplegadic traversal at IV 683-685 (MINERVA AND JUNO : BOTH SYMPLEGADES = HERDSMEN : BULLS FORCED UNDER YOKE) and 686-688 (STRAIT OPENED BETWEEN SYMPLEGADES : WATER MIXED WITH SAND THROUGH FORCIBLE SUBMARINE ACTION) are well handled, it seems to me, and rather original—quite a departure from the Valerian norm criticized above, p. p. 141, n. 1.

[2] Note that Valerius has likened Amycus also to a rock or crag (IV 202). See above, pp. 135f., also p. 141, n. 1, where the Apollonian Tiphys' skillful evasion of a mountainous wave before the arrival in the territory of Phineus (II 169ff.) is likewise acknowledged.

[3] Whereas Jason has brought together a group of able specialists, circumstances are such that only occasional opportunity for unaided utilization of individual specialties is allowed. Cf. above, p. 47, concerning the present circumstance. Valerius, by the way, brings not one, but two deities to the rescue. His Argonauts are aided by Juno as well as by Minerva. Cf. above, n. 1. Could it be that Valerius is trying to correct his predecessor's crediting of the same intervention first to Athena alone, later (see IV 786ff.) only to Hera? With regard to this apparent lapse on Apollonius' part see Walther, op. cit. (above, p. 3, n. 3) p. 53. I plan to discuss the matter myself in my second volume.

[4] Quoted from a note on *Arg.* II 572. The analogy attracts the attention also of Roux, op. cit. (above, p. 15, n. 3) pp. 92f., and of P. J. Händel (see pp. 363f. of his "Die Götter des Apollonios als Personen," *Miscellanea di studî alessandrini in memoria di A. Rostagni* (Turin, 1963) pp. 363-381).

the same time that the parallelism has been deliberately contrived by the poet. The key consideration is that what the dove experiences is to be taken by the Argonauts as an indication of what they themselves may expect in challenging the Symplegades. Such was the thinking of Phineus when he advised making trial in this fashion (328ff.). The bird's emergence unharmed, despite the loss of a few feathers,

...ἄκρα δ' ἔκοψαν
οὐραῖα πτερὰ ταίγε[1] πελειάδος, ἡ δ' ἀπόρουσεν
ἀσκηθής... [571-573]

gains loud and, no doubt, appreciative Argonautic acknowledgment.

III

Very soon afterward, nonetheless, the mere sight of the Symplegades, separated again for the time being after having come so violently together, suffices to evoke fright (τρόμος and δέος both) (575 and 577 respectively) and a sense of inescapable impending doom (ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς... ἀμήχανος[2]...ὄλεθρος) (578). Thanks to their own strivings, elicited by Tiphys and also by Euphemus, the latter of whom had previously supervised the dispatch of the dove (561), as well as to Athena's providential—and absolutely indispensable—aid,[3] the Argonauts too will emerge from their trial without suffering the slightest physical harm. Like the dove, they too will be ἀσκηθεῖς. (603).

Concomitant with this echo, which is an echo also of the language employed still earlier by Phineus himself in a conditional prediction of success,

...ἢν δὲ φύγητε
σύνδρομα πετράων ἀσκηθέες ἔνδοθι Πόντου [345f.]

a whole pattern of verbal correspondence operates simultaneously and in a somewhat more subtle fashion. The aorist ἀπόρουσεν, utilized, as we have seen, to indicate the dove's escape,[4] recurs almost

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[1] Sc. αἱ πέτραι.

[2] Passive in meaning, for a change ("cannot be surmounted"). Cf. 623 and 681 (cited below, pp. 173 and 179 respectively), also *Iliad* N 726 etc. On the more usual significance of the adjective for Apollonius see especially above, p. 49, n. 2.

[3] Cf. above, p. 170 and n. 3.

[4] I.e. at line 572 (cited above, also below, p. 172).

twenty verses later in a context which would have to be described as considerably less happy. As they attempted to make their way through vehement swell, the Argonauts found that, no matter how hard they strove forward with stalwart oar-strokes, the ship itself leapt backward twice as far:

> ...ὅσσον δ' ὑποείκαθε νηῦς ἐρέτῃσιν,
> δὶς τόσον ἂψ ἀπόρουσεν... [590f.]

Ultimate success has been scored, to be sure, when the same aorist—or rather a closely related compound—appears for the last time in the Symplegades-narrative. However, whereas the dove "darted away unharmed" (ἀπόρουσεν / ἀσκηθής) (572f.), the analogous escape of the Argonauts is announced through the conjoining of the same adjective with a verb even more connotative of eluding danger (ὑπάλυξαν) (603).[1] It is their rescuer, Athena, who directly "Olympusward darted *up*" (Οὔλυμπόνδ' ἀνόρουσεν) (ibid.).

All this swift motion contrasts markedly with what happens to the Symplegades themselves. Now that passage between them has been effected, the rocks must stand forever fixed on either side of the Bosporus; for such has been divinely ordained (604-606).[2]

IV

One would have expected the Argonauts to be very much heartened by their successful transit. As a matter of fact, Apollonius states expressly that they gained respite from chilling fear:

> οἱ δέ που ὀκρυόεντος ἀνέπνεον ἄρτι φόβοιο,
> ἠέρα παπταίνοντες ὁμοῦ πέλαγός τε θαλάσσης
> τῆλ' ἀναπεπτάμενον· δὴ γὰρ φάσαν ἐξ 'Αΐδαο
> σώεσθαι... [607-610]

I have deliberately emphasized the modifier as well as the substantive in quoting the initial verse, my reason being that the more *confident* state of mind displayed by his fellows transmits itself to Jason and causes his gloomy spirit to grow *warm*:

[1] With regard to the adjective (whose function in these contexts is really more adverbial than adjectival) see above, p. 171.

[2] "Orpheus" too (see *OA* 709-711) has stressed the rôle of fate—or rather of the Fates (Μοῖραι) in this connection. But Valerius, whose preoccupation with *fatum* is manifest throughout his epic, appears to give equal weight, so far as the future of the Symplegades is concerned, to the commandments of Jupiter (IV 707-710).

> ...οἱ δ' ὁμάδησαν
> θαρσαλέοις ἐπέεσσιν. ὁ δὲ φρένας ἔνδον ἰάνθη
> κεκλομένων ... [638-640]

But consider what has happened in the interim. First Tiphys makes an optimistic speech, noting how the expedition has already benefitted from divine intervention (612). In an effort to instill confidence into Jason himself he recollects not only Athena's feat of rescuing the Argo from the rocks (613-616), but also Phineus' assurances that future endeavor on the part of the Argonauts will be carried off successfully (617f.).

Terribly conscious of his own failings and, by his own admission, terribly downcast as a result, Jason questions the value of the pilot's attempts at encouragement:

> Τῖφυ, τίη μοι ταῦτα παρηγορέεις ἀχέοντι;
> ἤμβροτον, ἀασάμην τε κακὴν καὶ ἀμήχανον[1] ἄτην
> [622f.]

The distraught leader continues at length (624-639) in the same vein.

Or was he so distraught after all? His utterance elicited a noisy and optimistic response from his fellows. And, as has already been noted, Jason subsequently allowed himself to adopt a more cheerful attitude.[2] With the morose verses cited above compare the opening of the same hero's very different second speech:

> ὦ φίλοι, ὑμετέρῃ ἀρετῇ ἔπι θάρσος ἀέξω] [641]

Jason is still not quite so ready as Tiphys to assume that Phineus' predictions are a guarantee of success. His closing remarks (644-647) nonetheless show a happier outlook than did the close of his first speech. For there he expressed strong fear lest he fail utterly to bring his crew safely back home (634ff.).[3]

V

I have suppressed up to now the key to this apparent shift in Jason's outlook. Not only was the commander of the Argonauts not so distraught even earlier as he had made himself out to be; he was not so helpless either. In fact—and the exaggeratedly pessimistic

[1] Cf. above, p. 171, n. 2.

[2] See above, pp. 172f.

[3] Cf. below, p. 175 ad fiu.

tone of the first speech ought to have furnished a clue—it turns out that Jason had spoken as he did *in order to put his comrades to the test*:

ὥς φάτ', ἀριστήων πειρώμενος... [638][1]

Access to this bit of information allows us to see the entire episode in a new light. We are reminded immediately, moreover, of that juncture in the *Iliad* at which Agamemnon issued a long and despairing speech (B 110-141),[2] whose message to the massed Achaeans was that the hopelessness of their situation dictated immediate abandonment of the war against the Trojans.[3] However, whereas Apollonius' Argonauts responded to counsels of despair (in which the real and the feigned were probably intermingled) with salubrious and hopeful shouting, Homer's war-weary heroes accepted Agamemnon's invitation with alacrity and raced to the shore to launch their ships and set sail for home (142-154).

Were it not for divine intervention, the siege of Troy would have come to an ignominious end then and there. Alarmed at this sudden turn of events, Hera exhorted Athena to save the situation through direct appeal to the Achaean armed forces (157-165). Athena, however, instead of approaching each warrior individually enlisted the aid of Odysseus (173-181). The Ithacan carried out her bidding, addressing one sort of appeal to kings and nobles (190-197), another sort to men in the ranks (200-206).[4] Ultimately the situation was rectified—but at what a cost in time and energy!

Had Agamemnon too, like Jason, actually intended only to ascertain the mettle of his followers? Apparently so, for the commander-in-chief confided to Nestor and others of his closest advisors just such a plan. His objective was to arouse battle-readiness (72).[5] The

[1] I have translated the participle (present in *form*) as if it were future because testing may well have been more than an adjunct, in fact, the actual purpose of the speech which went before. The significance not only of the verse which I have partially quoted, but also of 620-647 as a whole is discussed at length by Fränkel. See op. cit. (above, p. 2, n. 1) pp. 214-221.

[2] The parallel has not escaped the notice of Blumberg, op. cit. (above, p. 6, n. 2) p. 42.

[3] See especially 137f. (cited below, p. 176) and 140 (cited below, ibid.).

[4] Odysseus' essentially undemocratic orientation (note that neither Hera nor Athena said anything about making a distinction between subordinates and leaders) is dramatized even more forcibly in his ensuing confrontation with Thersites (212-269).

[5] = 83, cited below, p. 175.

means to this end consisted, paradoxically, in testing the army's resolve through deliberately planted counsels of flight:

πρῶτα δ' ἐγὼν ἔπεσιν πειρήσομαι, ἣ θέμις ἐστί,
καὶ φεύγειν σὺν νηυσὶ πολυκλήϊσι κελεύσω. [73f.]

Agamemnon recognized that procedure of this sort was risky. To minimize the risk he asked his confidants to express public opposition to his proposal to quit the war.[1] Though he ought to have thought it over more carefully, Nestor did not hesitate to endorse the stratagem (79ff.). At the close of his speech he even repeated Agamemnon's statement of purpose word for word:

ἀλλ' ἄγετ', αἴ κέν πως θωρήξομεν υἷας Ἀχαιῶν. [83 = 72]

VI

What went awry? Or, to put it comparatively, why did Jason's "test" produce the desired result, whereas Agamemnon, despite all his efforts at clever stage-management, came close to provoking disaster? I suspect that what makes the difference is the keener understanding of psychology possessed by Apollonius' hero.[2] In his earlier speech Jason criticizes himself, first of all, for having accepted Pelias' command that he undertake the expedition (II 624-626), yet at the end indicates with a glancing rebuke to Tiphys that the real basis of his fear and trepidation is concern not for his own safety, but for that of his comrades, Tiphys included, whom he has persuaded to share in an apparently fruitless and possibly even fatal quest (633-637).

[1] So I interpret ὑμεῖς δ' ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος ἐρητύειν ἐπέεσσιν (75), the closing words of this speech. Note that Odysseus appears actually to have carried out the rôle prescribed here (cf. below, p. 176 and n. 3). But note too that when Athena accosted him, she gave new instructions more or less to the same effect:

σοῖς δ' ἀγανοῖς ἐπέεσσιν ἐρήτυε φῶτα ἕκαστον [180]

Is there possibly a lesson in all this? Agamemnon's strictly human initiative proved so faulty on all counts that divine intervention was required to set things straight once more.

[2] Cf. above, p. 74, concerning the "dignity and...psychologically effective manner" which proved such an asset in Jason's dealings with Hypsipyle. In this respect, as in others, the Jason who appears in Apollonius' *Argonautica* shows himself, despite his generally "unheroic" stance, to be the superior of the Jason portrayed by Euripides. Concerning a specific case in point see below and p. 176 n. 1.

Jason's display of altruism—probably sincere, despite the fact that the speech itself has been conceived with an ulterior motive[1]—generates in the Argonauts a strong sense of sympathetic rapport with their ostensibly faltering leader.[2] Consequently the expedition is enabled to continue without any such demoralizing contretemps as that occasioned by Agamemnon's speech. Agamemnon erred in failing to foresee that his addressing to the troops language such as ἄμμι δὲ ἔργον / αὔτως ἀκράαντον, οὗ εἵνεκα δεῦρ' ἱκόμεσθα (B 137f.) and φεύγωμεν σὺν νηυσὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν (140) would inspire not courage and solidarity, but a most shameful exhibition of self-interest, as practically everyone, save Odysseus, scurries off on a mad sprint toward the ships.[3]

[1] Contrast the "true selfishness" imputed to Euripides' Jason by E. A. Thomson in particular. See "Medea 565. A Protest," *Hermathena* LXIV (1944) 88f. On the likelihood that the Apollonian Jason's testing of his comrades was connected, as so much else in the *Argonautica*, with initiation ritual see Roux, op. cit. (above, p. 15, n. 3) p. 363 and n. 2.

[2] On other occasions too numerous to list here (but see above, p. 49, n. 2) Jason's helplessness is quite unfeigned.

[3] What Agamemnon himself did is not made clear. Nor can we ascertain how his counsellors, with the exception once again of Odysseus, behaved, though all had been instructed to oppose the bid for quitting the war (concerning which see above, p. 175 and n. 1).

CHAPTER ELEVEN

ΕΝ ΘΥΝΙΑΔΙ ΝΗΣΩΙ

I

Having moved into the Black Sea and travelled past certain landmarks previously listed by Phineus (the River Rhebas and Cape Black) (II 650f.: cf. 349)[1] as well as others now identified for the first time (Cape Barrow and the Rivers Phyllis and Calpes) (see 650, 652, and 659 respectively),[2] Jason and his comrades sojourn briefly at the Thynian Isle (669-719), another place included in Phineus' Catalogue (350).[3] What makes the Argonautic stay significant is the epiphany of Apollo which occurs before its termination. That deity is observed as he proceeds from Lycia to the homeland of the Hyperboreans (674ff.).

A glance at a map will show that the poet's knowledge of geography is not faulty—in this instance, at least.[4] For both (Bi)thynia and Thynias are situated almost due north of Lycia, on or near the most direct route to the territory where the Hyperboreans supposedly dwelt. Apollonius might have written at length about this fortunate race. But their doings are not really relevant to the plot of the *Argonautica*. Hence, except for a brief reference in Bk. IV to one of Apollo's visits among them (614ff.), the Hyperboreans will be mentioned no more.

II

"Motiviert ist sein Auftreten nicht," complains Blumberg, who takes too seriously the statement that the land of the Hyperboreans was the ultimate destination of Apollo's journey and who consequently says "er will nichts von den Helden."[5] Better compre-

[1] See also above, p. 157.

[2] Concerning the former of the two streams see Appendix B below.

[3] Cf. above, p. 157 and n. 3. Lists of ancient authorities who mention the island in question are furnished by Walther and Delage, opp. citt. (above, p. 3, n. 3) p. 56, n. 3 and p. 140, n. 1 respectively.

[4] The geographical detail of much of Bk. IV must be assessed by criteria other than conformity with present-day mapping. I shall say more about this subject in Vol. II.

[5] Op. cit. (above, p. 6, n. 2) p. 43. Blumberg may be right, however, in suggesting that the episode itself—barely hinted in *OA* (see line 714), while Valerius omits even this much—is Apollonius' own invention.

hension of the significance of the episode is manifested by Mirmont:

> Les héros ont quitté les rivages de Phinée: c'est Athéné qui leur fait franchir les passes dangereuses des Roches-Cyanées. Mais Apollon veut montrer à ses protégés qu'il ne les abandonne pas: c'est pourquoi, lorsqu'ils ont fait entrer Argo dans le port de l'île déserte de Thynias, le dieu qui revient de Lycie, se dirigeant vers le pays des Hyperboréens, leur apparaît dans toute sa gloire. L'île est consacrée au dieu Matinal:[1] le traité d'alliance entre Apollon et les Argonautes est renouvelé; les promesses d'offrandes, faites au départ de Pagases, sont confirmées.[2]

I think it noteworthy too that so soon after the construction of an altar to the δώδεκα θεοί (531-533) the Argonauts should become beneficiaries first of the intervention of one of the Olympians,[3] next of the epiphany of another.

III

At I 307ff. Jason striding forth from Iolcus to Pagasae was compared with Apollo.[4] Here, however, at II 676ff. the description of the golden-haired god armed with bow and quiver continues without reference to anything else—save for a possible hint to readers thoroughly conversant with the Homeric epics that Zeus' son gives much the same appearance and produces much the same effect as did Zeus himself or as did Zeus' brother (and frequent rival) Poseidon.[5] A pair of *Zusammenstellungen* will show what I have in mind:

> ἀμβρόσιαι δ᾽ ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος
> κρατὸς ἀπ᾽ ἀθανάτοιο ... [*Iliad* A 529f.]

> ...χρύσεοι δὲ παρειάων ἑκάτερθεν
> πλοχμοὶ βοτρυόεντες ἐπερρώοντο κιόντι. [*Arg.* II 676f.][6]

[1] Concerning the Greek original of this epithet see below, p. 180.

[2] Op. cit. (above, p. 1, n. 3) p. 485 ad init. Blumberg is aware of the aetiological element (considered below, pp. 180f.), yet, unlike Mirmont, does not really probe beneath the surface.

[3] Of Athena, that is. See Ch. X above.

[4] The passage in question and a likely model (*HH* 3,1ff.) are cited and discussed above, pp. 39f.

[5] "Diese Göttererscheinung," comments Blumberg, loc. cit. (above, p. 177, n. 5), "ist durchaus homerisch, nicht hellenistisch." As an example of the latter manner he picks rather Apollonius' depiction in Bk. III of the meeting of Hera and Athena with Aphrodite.

[6] Application of vinicological or horticultural terminology to human hair recurs in an amatory epigram of Agathias Scholasticus:

> ...καὶ εὐπλέκτου βότρυν ἔρηξε κόμης. [*AP* V 287,6]

> ...τρέμε δ᾽ οὔρεα μακρὰ καὶ ὕλη
> ποσσὶν ὑπ᾽ ἀθανάτοισι Ποσειδάωνος ἰόντος. [*Iliad* N 18f.]

> ...ἡ δ᾽ ὑπὸ ποσσὶν
> σείετο νῆσος ὅλη, κλύζεν δ᾽ ἐπὶ κύματα χέρσῳ.
> [*Arg.* II 679f.][1]

How ironic, then, that the very hero who was formerly likened not only to Apollo, but even to a star in the heavens (I 774ff.),[2] should have become so submerged in the Argonautic mass that he is not once mentioned by name in the entire Thynian island sequence! Presumably he shares in the astonishment of his fellows:

> τοὺς δ᾽ ἕλε θάμβος ἰδόντας ἀμήχανον,[3] οὐδέ τις ἔτλη
> ἀντίον αὐγάσσασθαι ἐς ὄμματα καλὰ θεοῖο,
> στὰν δὲ κάτω νεύσαντες ἐπὶ χθονός... [II 681-683][4]

Contrast the situation at *Iliad* A 199. Achilles was astounded (θάμβησεν) when Athena appeared not to the whole multitude of assembled Achaeans—who might well have become demoralized as a result—but to him alone. And in his own case astonishment was *not* accompanied by demoralization. The hero from Phthia retained possession of himself and addressed pointed questions to his visitor (202ff.).

Had Achilles been old enough to take part in the Argonautic expedition, as did his father, Peleus, and his uncle, Telamon,[5] perhaps he would have stood out from the crowd in the present situation, just as he was destined to stand out at the siege of Troy. Surely he could have filled the void of leadership occasioned by Apollo's sudden appearance.

Cf. Milton, PL IV 301-303 (cited by Mooney in his note concerning the Apollonian adjective):

> ...and *Hyacinthine* Locks
> Round from his parted forelock manly hung
> Clustring . . .

[1] In a rather comparable later passage (where the effect produced by the movements of Brimo-Hecate is described) Apollonius appropriates even Homer's verb. of fear or trembling:

> πίσεα δ᾽ ἔτρεμε πάντα κατὰ στίβον . . . [III 1218]

[2] Cited above, p. 70 ad init.

[3] Passive here, modifying θάμβος. Cf. 578 and 623 (cited above, pp. 171 and 173 respectively).

[4] On the varying significance of averted eyes at Lemnos see above, pp. 72ff.

[5] The exclusion of Achilles' generation from the Apollonian Argonauts is discussed above, pp. 31ff.

IV

Leadership of a sort comes at last (ὀψέ) (*Arg.* II 684), but from an unexpected quarter. Orpheus steps forth after the departure of the god and in a short speech explains what the Argonauts must now do:

[1] Commemorate the epiphany by renaming the island for Apollo "of the dawn" (Ἑώϊος), since it was at daybreak (ἠῷιος) that he appeared (686-688).

[2] Raise a shoreside altar (βωμὸς ἐπάκτιος) and perform sacrifices (688f.).[1]

[3] Perform additional sacrifices in Thessaly, should the god grant safe return (εἰ δ' ἂν ὀπίσω / γαῖαν ἐς Αἱμονίην ἀσκηθέα νόστον ὀπάσσηι κτλ.) (689-691).[2]

[4] Strive for the god's good will now with savors and with the ritual cry ἵληθι ἄναξ, ἵληθι φαανθείς (692f.).

From the standpoint of chronology Items ##3 and 4 ought to have been interchanged. Yet the progression as it stands is psychologically effective. Moreover the coöperation of Apollo had been secured even in advance of the sacrifice itself. For when one group turned to the task of building an altar (694f.), while another roamed the woods in search of sacrificial victims (695ff.),[3] the god very conveniently—after all, it was to his own advantage as well as to the advantage of the Argonauts—ensured that game would be available:

τοῖσι δὲ Λητοΐδης ἄγρην πόρεν ... [698][4]

Sacrifical rites are carried out forthwith (698ff.), and the helpful deity is duly addressed as Ἑώϊος Ἀπόλλων (700).[5] But song and dance too become part of the celebration (701ff.), with Orpheus once again in charge. The Thynian island sequence comes to a close with an αἴτιον so typical of Apollonius' manner that it is worth quoting in full:

[1] Cf. I 359f.; 403f.; 966f. See also p. 88 ad fin. and n. 3 above.

[2] The emphasized adjective was a key-word in the Symplegades-narrative. See above, pp. 170-172. Belief that safe return must be divinely bestowed is, of course, a commonplace of the Homeric poems.

[3] Concerning comparable divisions of labor in Mysia and in Bebrycia see above, pp. 116ff.; 132f.

[4] Cf. Homer's αἶψα δ' ἔδωκε θεὸς μενοεικέα θήρην (Od. ι 158).

[5] It was Orpheus himself who supplied an αἴτιον ἐτυμολογικόν even before the fact. See Item #1 in the table above.

αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ τόνγε χορείηι μέλψαν ἀοιδῆι,[1]
λοιβαῖς εὐαγέεσσιν ἐπώμοσαν ἦ μὲν ἀρήξειν
ἀλλήλοις εἰσαιὲν ὁμοφροσύνηισι νόοιο,
ἁπτόμενοι θυέων· καί τ' εἰσέτι νῦν γε τέτυκται[2]
κεῖν' Ὁμονοίης ἱρὸν ἐΰφρονος ὅ ῥ' ἐκάμοντο
αὐτοὶ κυδίστην τότε δαίμονα πορσαίνοντες. [714-719]

[1] This verse serves as a sort of compressed reminiscence of 701-704:

ἀμφὶ δὲ δαιομένοις εὐρὺν χορὸν ἐστήσαντο,
καλὸν Ἰηπαιήον' Ἰηπαιήονα Φοῖβον
μελπόμενοι, σὺν δέ σφιν ἐῢς πάϊς Οἰάγροιο
Βιστονίηι φόρμιγγι λιγείης ἦρχεν ἀοιδῆς·

Concerning two earlier songs of Orpheus see Appendix A below.

[2] See above, p. 78, n. 2, concerning language such as this. Though the verb here happens to be in the perfect tense, its focus is really on the state of affairs in what for Apollonius and his original readersbip was the present.

CHAPTER TWELVE

ΠΑΡΑ ΜΑΡΙΑΝΔΥΝΟΙΣ

I

Argonautica II 720-751 may be termed transitional. On one side lies the episode at Θυνιὰς νῆσος (669ff.), on the other the narrative of the sojourn of the Argonauts among the Mariandyni as guests of King Lycus (752ff.).[1] The verses in question are naturally concerned, therefore, with the voyage from the island to Lycus' realm. They also afford Apollonius a pretext for displaying his knowledge of Pontic geography.[2]

What strikes me first of all is the convenience with which things fall into place. Just as in the previous episode Apollo's intervention ensured an adequate supply of sacrificial victims for rites to that selfsame deity,[3] so a brisk wind from the right quarter blows continuously while the voyage eastward is underway (720f.; 725f.). Once anchorage has been reached, however, it slackens off (727f.), then dies down anew to permit an easy landing (750f.).[4]

Though the gods are nowhere mentioned in connection with the transit from Thynias, this would seem to be their doing. Perhaps Apollonius thought his Homeric model, *Od.* β 420f.,

[1] See respectively above, Ch. XI, below, pp. 183ff. "Tatsächlich," avers Blumberg, op. cit. (above, p. 6, n. 2) p. 44, "ist der Aufenthalt bei Lykos der einzige Ruhepunkt auf der ganzen Fahrt und dementsprechend breit ausgeführt." A second epiphany of Apollo (IV 1706ff.) is discussed, along with the first, by Phinney, op. cit. (above, p. 10, n. 3) pp. 42f. I shall examine the incident in my second volume.

[2] For details see Appendices C-D below.

[3] See II 698, cited above, p. 180. See also below, p. 183, n. 3. Here is a clear exception to the pattern observed by Phinney, loc. cit. (above, n. 1), wherein Apollo plays a rather passive rôle, chiefly as object of Argonautic prayer and ritual, quite in contrast to the constantly intervening Hera. Concerning activities of the goddess see pp. 29-40 of Phinney's dissertation, also above, especially Ch. II.

[4] The expressions ἀνέμοιο ...εὐνηθέντος (727) and ἀνέμοιο νέον λήγοντος (751) —particularly the latter—are rather reminiscent of the language employed several times over in connection with the second Argonautic departure from Dolionia. See I 1086 (cited above, pp. 106; 108); 1094f. (cited above, ibid); 1152 (cited above, p. 109 and n. 2).

τοῖσιν δ' ἴκμενον οὖρον ἵει γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη,
ἀκραῆ Ζέφυρον...[1]

somewhat too obvious. He will not hesitate to be more explicit when narrating a situation in which the Argonauts would be incapable of carrying on without unmistakable divine aid, whether furnished directly, as in the case of the passage through the Symplegades,[2] or in a much more complex way (involving several divinities and their sometimes unwitting human agents), as in the series of actions in Bks. III and IV which culminates in the capture of the Golden Fleece.[3]

II

Ashore in Mariandynia the Argonauts undergo a variety of experiences, first of which is their reception at King Lycus' palace (II 752-814). They are made welcome, however, not so much because the Mariandyni wish to demonstrate hospitality for its own sake. Such treatment is accorded rather because, whether or not such was their intent, the Argonauts have done the Mariandyni a great and good service. Their benefaction consists in having eliminated once and for all the threat posed by Amycus and the Bebryces.[4] Without hesitating, as had Cyzicus and his followers on an analogous earlier occasion,[5] the Mariandyni make this the basis for establishing friendly relations and for bestowing quasi-divine honors upon Amycus' slayer:

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρθμὸν[6] ἔθεντο μετὰ σφίσι τοῖο ἕκητι,

[1] At *Arg.* II 721 the combination ἀκραεῖ Ζεφύρωι occurs in the same metrical position. Hesychius' gloss, ἀκραῆ. ἄκρως πνέοντα, οὔτε σφοδρῶς, οὐδὲ ἐλλειπόντως, is evidently keyed to the passage from Homer.

[2] See Ch. X above.

[3] Cf. above, pp. 57f. In Vol. II the subject will be explored further. Was there really any necessity, one might nevertheless ask, for Apollo to supply the Argonauts with sacrificial victims during their stay at Thynias? Why could they not have carried out a successful hunt unaided? Possibly the island was deficient in or even devoid of game. But Apollonius does not make clear whether the god remedied a scarcity or merely contrived to concentrate available animals into a prescribed area.

[4] Apollonius does not here repeat the information provided at II 138ff. (cf. above, p. 147f. and n. 5) to the effect that, Amycus having been slain and his partisans decisively defeated, the Mariandyni moved in to take advantage of the "power-vacuum."

[5] Cf. above, pp. 92; 95ff.

[6] Glossed in a marginal scholium of Cod. *S* as συμβίβασιν, in an interlinear scholium of *L* as φιλίαν. Cf. Hesychius, who equates ἀρθμός not only with φιλία, but also with συνθήκη and with εἰρήνη. Probably the most arresting

αὐτὸν δ' ὥστε θεὸν Πολυδεύκεα δεξιόωντο,
πάντοθεν ἀγρόμενοι... [755-757]

The difference is understandable. Once they had ascertained their visitors' identities, the Doliones temporarily overcame their suspicion of strangers.[1] But the Mariandyni have no need even to ask who the newcomers are. The fame of their exploit has preceded them (752-754). Such benefaction, already performed, attested, and acknowledged, is all the passport that they need.[2]

III

In the midst of the feasting Jason delivers a speech comparable to those presented by Odysseus at the court of King Alcinoüs and by Aeneas at the court of Queen Dido. All three utterances could be classified as recapitulatory. However, inasmuch as both the *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid* have to do with actions postdating not only the Trojan War, but also the subsequent wanderings of the central figure and his companions, it is understandable that a significant fraction of both epics should have been given over to accounts from the central figure himself and in *oratio recta* of all that has transpired

occurrence of this term (in company with a close relative of φιλία) is to be found at Aeschylus, *PV* 190-192, where Prometheus himself predicts an eventual reconciliation with Zeus:

τὴν δ' ἀτέραμνον στορέσας ὀργήν
εἰς ἀρθμὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ φιλότητα
σπεύδων σπεύδοντί ποθ' ἥξει.

The two concepts are intertwined also at *HH* 4,524 (ἐπ' ἀρθμῶι καὶ φιλότητι) and at Callimachus, fr. 80,19 Pf. = 199 Schn. (ἀρ / 'θμὸν καὶ φιλίη] ν), as well at *Iliad* H 302 (ἠδ' αὖτ' ἐν φιλότητι διέτμαγεν ἀρθμήσαντε). Apollonius saves the term φιλότης for an ensuing context (II 759-761) concerned with the manner in which the Argonauts as a group were received at Lycus' palace.

[1] For detailed discussion of the unfortunate later consequences of their generally negative and suspicious attitude toward peoples living beyond their borders see Ch. VI above.

[2] Note too that the doubly vanquished enemy are described as ὑπερφίαλοι (758), while Lycus in the course of a lengthy speech (774ff.: discussed below, pp. 186-189) imputes ὑπερβασίη to Amycus himself. See line 792. Concerning application of similar language to Amycus and his followers not only in the Bebrycian episode of Apollonius, but also in *OA* and in Theocritus' twenty-second Idyll see above, pp. 134ff. (with p. 135, n. 1); 146. Such lack of moderation was, of course, thought by the Greeks to be a barbarian trait. Hence there may be good reason for Delage, op. cit. (above, p. 3, n. 3) p. 155, to remind us that Heraclea, Lycus' seat of government, "comme Cyzique...est une ville importante et un foyer de civilisation grecque." With reference to Heraclea's founders see Appendix D below.

up to this point—events which, for the most part, have received no previous mention.

However, in Apollonius' *Argonautica* the detailed account has been supplied already. Hence all that the poet need do is state that Jason passed on the same information to the ruler of the Mariandyni. *Oratio obliqua* will suffice: the less verbiage, the better. Not two Books, as in the *Aeneid*, need be assigned to Jason's speech, not, as in the *Odyssey*, three whole Books and parts of two others, but *only ten verses*! In effect, lines 762-771 of *Arg.* II constitute a sort of outline of the topics successively covered in what must have been a very lengthy narrative, corresponding to those portions of the epic already set forth by the poet himself. To my tabular representation, therefore, I append a list of original references and of the chapters in which each is brought under discussion:[1]

[1] Lineage and identity of each Argonaut (762f.: cf. I 20-228 and Ch. III above)

[2] Pelias' behest (763: cf. I 5-17 and Ch. II above)[2]

[3] The sojourn at Lemnos (764: cf. I 609-909 and Ch. V above)

[4] All that took place in Cyzicus' realm (765:[3] cf. I 936-1152 and Ch. VI above)

[5] Events in Mysia, particularly the disappearance of Heracles, with Glaucus' explanation (766-768: cf. I 1153-1357 and Ch. VII above)

[6] Defeat of Amycus and of the Bebryces (768: cf. II 1-163 and Ch. VIII above)[4]

[7] Phineus' prophecies and tribulations (769: cf. 178-497 and Ch. IX above)

[1] As a matter of fact, my own arrangement of material in Chs. II-III and V-XI has been largely determined by the organizational scheme acknowledged in the poet's succinct résumé of Jason's speech.

[2] Possibly this deviation from chronological order otherwise strictly kept—Apollonius even employs the expression ἑξείης ἐνέποντος (771) with respect to Jason's utterance—was a response to metrical exigencies. Note that Πελίαό τ' ἐφετμάς fits in nicely as a clausula to Αἰσονίδης μέν οἱ γενεὴν καί τ' οὔνομ' ἑκάστου / σφωϊτέρων μυθεῖθ' ἑτάρων.

[3] Cited below, p. 186, n. 3 ad fin.

[4] See also II 752-754 and p. 183 above (with n. 4).

[8] Traversal of the Symplegades (770: cf. 531-606 etc. and Ch. X above)[1]

[9] Apollo's epiphany (770f.: cf. 669-719 and Ch. XI above)

Which incidents are to be regarded as major, which as minor is quite clearly indicated through inclusion of the former, non-inclusion of the latter in the poet's outline of what his hero purportedly said. What determines the inclusion or non-inclusion of something in the present list is not, however, the number of verses allowed it in the *Argonautica* previously, but its relevance to that work as a whole. Obviously Pelias' demand that the Golden Fleece be captured and the roster of participants in the effort to carry out the demand fit this requirement,[2] as do the Lemnian and Dolionian episodes. Vital prophecies or evidences of significant divine intervention seem to qualify likewise. Hence not only is the Phineus-episode acknowledged here, but also Glaucus' predictions[3] and the unexpected advent of Apollo. The relevance of the Symplegades-episode need not be doubted for a moment. Had the Argonauts failed to clear passage into the Euxine—an eventuality precluded largely thanks to the instructions of Phineus, to which Athena's intervention was a necessary concomitant—there would have been no further progress toward Colchis, no romance of Jason and Medea, no capture of the Golden Fleece, no return-trip by a different route, and, of course, no *Argonautica* of Apollonius as we presently know the poem.

IV

Nor need anyone doubt the relevance of the separation of the Argonauts from Heracles. That hero's absence will be felt sorely throughout the epic.[4] Perhaps for the same reason Polyphemus and

[1] Concerning lines 769 and 770 see also above, p. 167.

[2] Strictly speaking, these are not episodes at all. Yet their major importance cannot be denied. Apart from actions absent from Jason's list only because they have not yet taken place, the only real exception to the rule apparently laid down at II 762ff. is not an individual episode, but the series of incidents occurring at Iolcus or at Pagasae in advance of the Argo's departure. All are examined—or at least acknowledged—in Ch. IV above. See particularly the table assembled at p. 37.

[3] What of the prophesying kingfisher? That bird's remarks, though not mentioned specifically in the résumé of Jason's speech, ought at least to fall into the broadly inclusive Item #4: ὅσσα τε Κύζικον ἀμφὶ Δολιονίην τ' ἐτέλεσσαν.

[4] Cf. above, pp. 45; 112, n. 2; 148; 168.

Hylas receive no mention in Jason's speech—or at least in the résumé. Yet, apart from the fact that it was the search for missing Hylas which served as the most immediate (though not basic) cause for Heracles' being left behind, apart too from the futile effort of Canthus to find his old friend Polyphemus,[1] the removal of Polyphemus and Hylas does not in itself produce any profound aftereffect on the expedition. Again and again it is Heracles whose name is uttered in time of crisis and whose return is fervently desired.[2]

Even now Lycus, having listened to Jason's speech with keen interest, focusses much of his own reply (reported in *oratio recta* at lines 774-810) on the sad recollection that he too had been deprived of Heracles' talents just when he needed them most. While Lycus' father Dascylus still ruled, Heracles passed through the realm in his quest for the belt of Hippolyte (775-779).[3] During his stay he defeated Tities in a boxing-match at funeral games for Priolas, Dascylus' other son, slain at the hauds of the Mysians (780-785). In addition he assisted the former Mariandynian ruler in bringing not only the Mysians, but the Mygdonians, Bithynians, and Paphlagonians as well under subjection (786-791).

Unfortunately once Lycus himself succeeded to the throne, he was cut off from Heracles as a result of the interposition of the Bebryces under Amycus' arrogant leadership (792-795). But the feat of the Argonauts put a stop to all that. And for their service to his cause Lycus is extremely grateful. Playing on the meanings attached to the verb τίνειν and to its congeners, he indicates both that the Bebryces paid the appropriate *penalty* (ἔδοσαν τίσιν) (796), extracted from them by the Argonauts—though not without divine contrivance (796-798)[4]—and that he himself is ready to *requite* the good deed from which he has benefitted:

[1] This subject and the deaths both of Canthus and of Mopsus (predicted in the Catalogue: cf. above, p. 36, also below, p. 195, n. 3) will be discussed in Vol. II.

[2] Note, however, that Polyphemus' founding of the city of Cius and his extinction in the land of the Chalybes, both predicted in Glaucus' speech (I 1321-1325: see above, p. 112, n. 4), will be cited again at IV 1468-1477 as accomplished fact.

[3] This happens to be one of the "Twelve Labors." Heracles' method for obtaining the belt (see II 966-969) is discussed in the paper mentioned above, p. 55, n. 6 ad fin. On the connection between Heracles' service to Lycus and his key rôle in the conquest of Laomedontian Troy see Roux, op. cit. (above, p. 15, n. 3) pp. 17f.

[4] I shall not belabor the significance of οὐδέ...ἀέκητι θεῶν, an expression taken over from Homer. Cf., for example, *Od.* γ 28; ζ 240; ω 443f. Acknow-

τῶν νῦν ἥντιν' ἐγὼ τεῖσαι χάριν ἄρκιός εἰμι,
τείσω προφρονέως... [799f.]

For his ethical orientation prescribes that those who are weak should thus acknowledge the aid of the strong (800f.).[1] His repayment will include not only the present show of hospitality toward his guests, with subsequent bestowal of gifts (see 811-814), but also the dispatch of his son Dascylus[2] to accompany the expedition and ensure friendly treatment in regions to the east as far off as the River Thermodon (802-805).[3]

Lycus' requital of benefits received does not end here, however.

[1]edgment of divine support is normal in the *Argonautica*, an attitude such as that of Idas (concerning which see especially pp. 49ff. above) quite abnormal. Also abnormal is the suspicion, expressed at IV 1275f. by the usually optimistic Ancaeus II (see below, pp. 190ff. with regard to his successful effort to succeed Tiphys as helmsman), that the gods are actually working against the interests of the Argonauts. The question of the relationship between the normalities and abnormalities of the poem has not failed to tantalize Hermann Fränkel. See op. cit. (above, p. 136, n. 2) p. 152, n. 28:

> It is impossible to tell how far the piety which Apollonius displays throughout the epic is based on actual conviction, and how much of it is no more than the affectation of an antiquarian and romanticist who pretends to share the naïve faith of the heroic age. Apollonius himself would hardly have been able to draw the line. But he does play the part, if it is a part, rather well and without any touch of studied Callimachean irony.

Callimachus' "tongue-in-cheek" religiosity—at least in the fifth and sixth Hymns—has been examined in some detail by K. J. McKay, *The Poet at Play* (= *Mn* Suppl. VI) (Leyden, 1962); *Erysichthon: A Callimachean Comedy* (= *Mn* Suppl. VII) (ibid., same date). See also my review of both monographs (*CP* LIX (1964) 296-298).

[1] Perhaps intimate knowledge of what it means to be the disadvantaged party has cured him of the belief that it is the function of the strong to bend the weak to their will. Lycus' father, who with the assistance of Heracles subjugated practically every nearby nation (cf. above, p. 187), apparently clung to the old way of thinking.

[2] Evidently named for the grandfather, though Apollonius does not say so expressly.

[3] Listed already in Phineus' Catalogue (370: cf. above, p. 158). Young Dascylus, concerning whose enrollment as an Argonaut see also line 814 (ἅμα δ' υἷα δόμων ἔκπεμπε νέεσθαι: contrast the case of Acastus, able to join only Πελίαο παρὲκ νόον (I 323: cf. above, p. 28, n. 2, also p. 43)) and p. 189 below, will remain with Jason and his comrades even after the Thermodon's mouth has been reached. In fact, he will accompany them throughout the Colchian adventure and for a time afterward. No additional specific reference to him will occur, however, until the occasion of his leave-taking as the Argo passes fairly close to his homeland on the return trip (IV 298-300). How typical of Apollonius to have left no loose ends dangling!

For the monarch plans also to set up a shrine to Polydeuces and Castor atop the Acherusian Cape (806ff.),[1] as well as a τέμενος near his capital city (809f.). Is there not discernible here a hint of the aetiological? Already Apollonius has informed us that the Mariandyni received Amycus' slayer ὥστε θεόν (756).[2] But Lycus himself seems well aware too of the future rôle to be played by both Dioscuri as patrons of seafarers. He expects that any who travel by ship will espy the shrine from afar and attempt propitiation (807f.). Furthermore, his proposed setting aside of a tract of land, normally an honor accorded to divinities only, is specifically to be carried out οἷα θεοῖσι for Castor and Polydeuces themselves.[3]

V

The Apollonian narrative of the visit to King Lycus' court ends in a seemingly auspicious way at II 811-814 with all-day feasting, bestowal of innumerable gifts, and induction of Dascylus into the ranks of the Argonauts. Like the joy-filled hyporcheme which serves as the third stasimon of Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* (1086-1109), all this turns out to be but a misleading—hence dramatically very effective—prelude to disaster. The next episode of the Sophoclean play brings Oedipus himself face to face with horrendous truths; in Apollonius' epic two valued Argonauts die suddenly in rapid succession. First Idmon, the seer, falls prey to a lurking boar (815ff.), then Tiphys, the helmsman, contracts a fatal disease (851ff.).

I have already commented on the foreknowledge of the former that he was doomed to be struck down in Asia and have commented too on his decision to join the expedition nevertheless, as well as on the irony of the boar's having been exterminated in turn by the very person, namely Idas, with whom Idmon had carried on an acrimonious dispute.[4] However, whereas the imminence of Idmon's demise had been forecast to the Argonauts by the seer himself,[5] ap-

[1] Also included in Phineus' list (354). See above, p. 157 ad fin.

[2] Cited more fully above, pp. 183f.

[3] I leave aside detailed discussion of the Orphic treatment of the meeting of Lycus and the Argonauts (*OA* 717-721: but see below, p. 225, n. 1) or of Valerius' somewhat less condensed version (IV 733-762). The latter poet has once again, in effect, liberated himself from his model, much to the delight of Mehmel, op. cit. (above, p. 132, n. 1) p. 17, who thinks the Valerian account more lively than that of Apollonius.

[4] See above, pp. 47ff.

[5] See I 443f. (cited above, p. 48).

parently neither Tiphys nor his comrades knew in advance that he too was doomed.

The helmsman and the seer have much in common, nonetheless. And the near simultaneity of their decease would serve to underscore this fact. Both are highly skilled professionals; both direct their capabilities unselfishly toward the welfare of their fellow Argonauts. Moreover—in this not only Idmon, but Tiphys too differs sharply from Idas, whose professionalism allows no place for divine assistance—both acknowledge that the gods have a vital part to play in the affairs of mankind.[1]

VI

Their bereavement leaves Apollonius' Argonauts collectively in a state of shock. Gripped by ἀμηχανίη, they drop to the ground (860); they refuse food and drink (861f.); they lose hope of returning home ever (863).[2] At this point Ancaeus II addresses words of good cheer to Peleus (869-877), who relays to his fellows (see 880-884) the divinely inspired message that the Argo suffers no dearth of qualified helmsmen.[3]

Apparently everyone, save Jason, is convinced. The leader's response (886-893) overflows with presages of doom.[4] Nonetheless, despite the rebukeful question tossed at Peleus,

> Αἰακίδη, πῇ δ' οἵδε κυβερνητῆρες ἔασιν; [886]

[1] On the "normality" of this attitude, exemplified both in Idmon's rebuke to Idas and in Tiphys' efforts to uplift Jason's seemingly downcast spirits through reminders that the safe passage through the Symplegades was largely Athena's doing (cf. above, pp. 49ff. and 173. respectively), see p. 187, n. 4 above.

[2] Valerius' narrative of the twin deaths (V 1ff.) likewise takes account of the impact on the Argonauts; that of "Orpheus" (*OA* 722ff.) does not. The Roman poet adds an Argonautic prayer to Apollo in behalf of the stricken helmsman (quoted in *oratio recta* at V 17-20), as well as a simile (22ff.) in which the vainly petitioning heroes—the appeal had to fail, of course, since Tiphys' doom was inexorably fated (21)—are likened to children who fearfully and prayerfully grieve at the bedside of an ailing parent.

[3] Statement and restatement are quoted (though in reverse order) below, p. 192. On Hera's having caused Ancaeus II to speak in the first place see also ibid. and p. 194.

[4] Or is this too a "test," such as Jason introduced after the transit of the Symplegades (concerning which see above, pp. 173ff)? Fränkel, for one (see op. cit. (above, p. 22, n. 4) p. 14), suspects that Jason has been cleverly manipulating his comrades' easily changeable moods. See also op. cit. (above, p. 2, n.1) pp. 241-243.

—or perhaps because of it—no less than four individuals step forward to volunteer for the helmsman's post. All four, Ancaeus II included, happen to be descendants of Poseidon and, not surprisingly, happen also to be well prepared for handling the tiller.[1]

But the poet does not list their qualifications here. This has already been done either in the Catalogue of Argonauts or in narrative of the Argo's travels. Erginus and Ancaeus II, though they now find themselves in competition with one another, were categorized originally together as ἴστορε ... / ἠμὲν ναυτιλίης ἠδ' ἄρεος (I 188f.).[2] Nauplius not only has a name suggestive of seafaring; he comes from a long line of significantly called males—his father was Clytoneüs, his grandfather Naubolus[3]—stretching back to his namesake, son of Poseidon and Amymone, ὃς περὶ πάντας ἐκαίνυτο ναυτιλίῃσιν (I 138).

Though his place in the Catalogue fell immediately adjacent to that of Ancaeus II and of Erginus, the credentials cited therein for Euphemus, now become the fourth aspirant for the job of helmsman, differ somewhat from those of the other three. For Euphemus is exceptionally fleet-footed (ποδωκηέστατος ἄλλων) (I 180)[4] and even has the ability to skim over the surface of the sea without sinking (182-184). On the voyage itself up to now he operated regularly in collaboration with Tiphys. Handling the dove dispatched to test the Symplegades was one such responsibility which Euphemus accepted.[5] When the attempt was made soon afterward to drive the Argo past the dangerous rock formation, it was he who acted as coxswain, so to speak:

> Εὔφημος δ' ἀνὰ πάντας ἰὼν βοάασκεν ἑταίρους
> ἐμβαλέειν κώπῃσιν ὅσον σθένος. οἱ δ' ἀλαλητῷ
> κόπτον ὕδωρ... [II 588-590]

[1] Cf. above, pp. 30 and 36 respectively.

[2] But see below, pp. 192ff.

[3] The same names are assigned to two of Homer's Phaeacians. See *Od.* θ 119 etc. and 115f. respectively.

[4] Cf. above, p. 36. Note that the Homeric Achilles is regularly allotted the epithets ποδάρκης (invariably in combination with δῖος) and πόδας ὠκύς. The lightness and swiftness of his feet—see IV 1465 (ποσσὶ ... κούφοις) and 1483 (πόδας ταχύς)—are what qualify Apollonius' Euphemus to participate in the search through the Libyan Desert for Heracles. The incident itself will be examined in Vol. II of this study.

[5] See II 533-536; 555f. 561f. See also above, p. 171.

VII

Jason's real or feigned doubts concerning the availability of potential successors to Tiphys are thus answered several times over. Yet we are left with the implication that the leader of the expedition has once again abdicated his expected rôle. At any rate, popular acclaim vouchsafes the helmsman's post to Ancaeus II (897f.). Not a word is said about any decision-making on Jason's part. Once more we seem to be witnessing "democracy by default."[1]

The selection of Ancaeus II was divinely ordained, however. Hera herself impelled this particular hero to come forward and speak to Peleus.[1] Add an element of self-promotion, which emerges clearly into view when Ancaeus' speech is compared with Peleus' ensuing statement. Ἡμῖν δ' ἐν γὰρ ἔασι κυβερνητῆρες ὁμίλωι / καὶ πολέες (882f.) proves to be a rather compressed recapitulation of what the would-be helmsman said originally even before his competitors had presented themselves for individual consideration:

> ὧς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι δεῦρο δαήμονες ἄνδρες ἔασιν,
> τῶν ὅτινα πρύμνης ἐπιβήσομεν, οὔ τις ἰάψει
> ναυτιλίην... [874-876]

Why "others as well"? Why the litotic statement of future expectations? The answer is simple. These remarks constitute a sort of morale-building codicil to the main piece of information imparted by Ancaeus II: his own suitability to take over the helmsman's duties, particularly inasmuch as it was his knowledge of things nautical which caused Jason to recruit him in the first place:

> ...οὐ μὲν ἄρηος
> ἴδριν ἐόντ' ἐμὲ τόσσον ἄγει μετὰ κῶας Ἰήσων
> Παρθενίης ἀπάνευθεν ὅσον τ' ἐπιίστορα νηῶν. [870-872]

"Wherefore *concerning the ship*," he adds, "let there be not the slightest fear on your part" (τῶ μή τοι τυτθόν γε δέος περὶ νηΐ πελέσθω) (873).

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[1] Cf. the discussion above, pp. 44ff., of how Jason handled—or mishandled—the assembly at Pagasae. Convinced still that the expedition's organizer functions as *primus inter pares* (cf. above, p. 44, n. 4), Fränkel acknowledges the democracy of the procedure for selecting a new helmsman, yet ascribes to Jason himself no default, purposefulness rather. See op. cit. (above, p. 2, n. 1) pp. 243f.

[2] See also below, p. 194.

VIII

Someone will object that such claims are inconsistent with what was said earlier in the poem. And it could be objected further that when I quoted from the Catalogue-entry with reference to Ancaeus II and Erginus, a key word was omitted. For in the Catalogue the poet states not only that the two youths both knew something about seamanship, but also that both *boasted* of being equally knowledgable with regard to warfare:

> ...ἴστορε δ' ἄμφω
> ἠμὲν ναυτιλίης ἠδ' ἄρεος εὐχετόωντο. [I 188f.][1]

In contexts of this sort, however, verbs such as εὔχεσθαι or εὐχετάασθαι, far from conveying anything vitally significant, turn out to be little more than sonorous substitutes for εἶναι.[2] But I leave that consideration aside. The Catalogue is one thing, Ancaeus' speech another. The clever petitioner for the post of helmsman finds it expedient to minimize his connection with Erginus, who thus becomes simply one of those other (and conveniently nameless) δαήμονες ἄνδρες mentioned seemingly as an afterthought at II 874.[3] It is expedient likewise for him now to denigrate his own soldierly skills —after all, not Idas, but Tiphys must be replaced—and play up the knowledge and training requisite to taking over the helm. And this tactic proves quite successful. Having stolen a psychological march on his as yet unannounced competitors, Ancaeus II establishes himself in the minds of the Argonauts as the obvious replacement for the late lamented Tiphys.

IX

But I foresee another objection. How can Ancaeus II affect the Argonauts' psychology if his speech is addressed to Peleus and if Peleus in relaying the message does not mention him by name or distinguish him in any way from the κυβερνητῆρες...καὶ πολέες said at II 882f. to be scattered throughout the Argonautic company?[4]

This objection is more consequential than the first and harder to answer as well. If fault there be, my theorizations rather than Apol-

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[1] For less complete quotation of the same see above, p. 191.

[2] The formulaic clausula εὔχεται εἶναι, much employed by Homer, ostensibly means "claims to be," but again and again may be translated simply by "is."

[3] Cf. p. 192 above.

[4] The verses in question are cited more fully above, ibid.

lonius' verses ought to take the blame. I think that I have explained suitably enough the discrepancy between the Catalogue and Ancaeus' speech. On the other hand, the poet himself does not insist that Ancaeus II won the helmsman's job through psychological infighting. What he stresses rather is the element of manipulation by the gods. As I have already pointed out, Hera impelled the would-be helmsman to announce to Peleus his availability.[1] A deity —presumably Hera once again—was nudging him also when he presented himself subsequently before the assembled Argonauts.[2] Moreover Erginus, Nauplius, and Euphemus, no less eager to serve than he (ὤρνυντ', ἰθύνειν λελιημένοι) (897), did not gain an opportunity to speak at all until after Ancaeus II had made what constituted, in effect, a second plea. What the successful petitioner may have said in his own behalf is not recorded. Yet we are led to surmise that ensuing orations delivered by the other three (not recorded either) impressed the Argonauts as somehow anticlimactic.[3]

X

What of Idmon's replacement? Was he too chosen by popular acclaim after having responded to the urging of a deity that he volunteer? Apollonius leaves untold this aspect of the story. We know not whether one individual or several sought to succeed Idmon; nor are we ever advised that anyone in particular took his place. For no sooner has the poet finished narrating the selection of Ancaeus II as the new helmsman, than he announces that the Argonauts set sail at dawn on the twelfth day afterward (899f.).

Not until the next episode (minor) does there occur a need for a seer to function professionally. Having passed the River Acheron in the course of a favorable voyage (900-903) and having come upon another stream significantly called Καλλίχορος and a cave whose name, Αὔλιον, likewise lends itself to aetiological etymologizing,[4] the

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[1] Cf. above, ibid.

[2] Line 895 does not go beyond the quite unspecific δὴ γὰρ θεοῦ ἐτράπεθ' ὁρμῆι.

[3] Note that in the sequel a strong sense of continuity is established. Ancaeus II performs his duties in much the same fashion as did Tiphys. And, like Tiphys, he does more than simply steer the ship; he also gives counsel (an example of which is discussed below, pp. 215f. Ancaeus' rôle on the return-voyage (far more meagerly attested than the activities of Tiphys en route from Pagasae) will be considered in Vol. II.

[4] The region in question is said to have been the scene of orgiastic rites carried on by Dionysus as he proceeded from India to Thebes (905f.). Or

Argonauts approach the tomb of Actor's son Sthenelus, a companion of Heracles felled by an Amazon's arrow (911ff.).[1]

Who was it, then, who interpreted a θαῦμα, the apparition of Sthenelus fully armed (915ff.), and advised the Argonauts to come ashore and pour propitiatory libations (τοὺς δ' ὦρσε θεοπροπέων ἐπικέλσαι / ...λοιβῇσί τε μειλίξασθαι) (922f.)? It was none other than Mopsus, a skilled practitioner already so designated both in the Catalogue-entry assigned to him alone,

> ἤλυθε δ' αὖ Μόψος Τιταρήσιος, ὃν περὶ πάντων
> Λητοΐδης ἐδίδαξε θεοπροπίας οἰωνῶν. [I 65f.][2]

and once again (Μόψον τε δαήμονα μαντοσυνάων) (I 80) in the midst of another hero's listing.[3]

Already I should have pointed out that there was a dearth of comparable opportunities for Mopsus' predecessor to exercise his specialty. This dearth came about, however, largely because the functions which ought to have been assigned to Idmon were so often assigned to others. Glaucus and Phineus both looked into the future (I 1309ff. and II 311ff. respectively).[4] Even a kingfisher issued

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rather the name of the deity is broken down into its supposed components (ἔνθ' ἐνέπουσι Διὸς Νυσήϊον υἷα... / ὀργιάσαι κτλ.: unfortunately the ancients disagree as to the location of Mount Nys(s)a). Related deeds of the same divine agent are alleged also as that which caused latter-day residents to affix to the local waterway and to the cave (neither of which, in contrast to the Acheron, received any mention in Phineus' Catalogue) their present appellations:

> ...στῆσαί τε χοροὺς ἄντροιο πάροιθεν
> ᾧι ἐν ἀμειδήτους ἁγίας ηὐλίζετο νύκτας·
> ἐξ οὗ κτλ. [907ff.]

[1] Heracles' exploits against the Amazons are noted briefly at II 777-779 (near the beginning of Lycus' speech: cf. above, p. 187), in somewhat more detail at 964ff., where the context is aetiological.

[2] Partially cited above, p. 105. Should we take περὶ πάντων quite literally? If so, Mopsus would seem to have gained preferential treatment even over Apollo's own son Idmon. With regard to the god's having taught the latter much the same vocabulary is employed (θεοπροπίας ἐδίδαξεν / οἰωνούς τ' ἀλέγειν ἠδ' ἔμπυρα σήματ' ἰδέσθαι) (I 144f.), yet without a hint—despite the claim made by Mirmont, op. cit. (above, p. 1, n. 3) p. 198—that Idmon's training was better than any other seer's.

[3] The fact that he and Canthus are destined to perish together far from home (cf. above, p. 36) occasions the iteration of Mopsus' name in an entry not his own. In my second volume I shall discuss parallelism between the paired deaths of these heroes on the return trip and the paired deaths of Idmon and Tiphys en route to Colchis.

[4] See respectively pp. 112f. and 155ff. above. On the Valerian Jason's having bypassed Idmon and Mopsus both in favor of Phineus see above, p. 162 ad init. and n. 2.

prophecies (I 1085f.).[1] And it was left for someone other than Idmon, namely Mopsus himself, to relay and interpret the inspired bird's message (1092ff.).[2]

Having usurped, so to speak, the prerogatives of Idmon already during that colleague's lifetime, Mopsus continues to practise seercraft afterwards. And he is kept much busier than was his predecessor. In fact, the prominence of birds throughout the various stages of the expedition[3] will ensure Mopsus' continuing employment. For it becomes his task to interpret not only the prophecies set forth by the kingfisher, but also, once the Argonauts have arrived in Colchis, the triumph of the dove over the hawk (III 540ff.)[4] and the insulting speech of the garrulous crow (931ff.).[5]

[1] See above, pp. 104f.

[2] See above, pp. 106f. And yet Idmon too was trained in what Mirmont, loc. cit. (above, p. 195, n.5.), calls "l'ornithoscopie". He was thus no less qualified than Mopsus to deal with talking kingfishers and the like.

[3] Cf. above, p. 105, n. 5. See also n. 5. below.

[4] His interpretation of this surprising circumstance will be considered in Vol. II.

[5] This too will be discussed in my companion volume. Lawall's odd failure to include the crow, let alone the kingfisher, in his list of birds who "play a conspicuous rôle in the story" is signalled above, p. 105, n. 5.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

ΕΝ ΑΡΗΤΙΑΔΙ ΝΗΣΩΙ

I

The next hundred verses of *Arg.* II (930-1029), starting with the departure of Jason and his men from the vicinity of Sthenelus' tomb and ending with the approach to Aretias (or Ares' Isle) far to the east, are devoted entirely to transitions and minor episodes. Though specific information imparted here may owe little directly to Herodotus,[1] nevertheless in providing a variegated succession of αἴτια, γενεαλογίαι, μῦθοι, and θαύματα Apollonius has operated very much in the Herodotean manner. Wherein, it will be asked, does the Herodotean manner differ from the Hellenistic? Perhaps there is no sharp differentiation.

Yet it is not frivolous to question whether these several score verses really advance Apollonius' epic plot. Could not everything, as a matter of fact, save the rescue of the Deïmachids at Sinope (955-961) and the averted war with the Amazons resident around Cape Themiscyra (985f.; 993-995),[2] have been excised without significant loss?

To such queries I have several considerations to offer in response. First of all, let it be noted that many of the references to peoples and places represent fulfillment of earlier prophecies. Eliminate them here, and the Catalogue of Phineus—which some readers would happily eliminate as well[3]—loses its *raison d'être.*

At the same time another matter of structure must be acknowledged. Scrutiny of a map will show that the major incidents of Bks. I and II have all up to now, with the exception of the sojourn at Lemnos, occurred in or around Northwest Anatolia, whether the Argonauts be making their way through the Propontis or the Bos-

[1] That historian is mentioned only rarely in scholia to Apollonius' poem. The only instance connected with the portion of Bk. II presently under consideration comes in comment on lines 946-954.

[2] A wind authorized by Zeus drove the Argo past the Cape, with the result that no contact between Argonauts and Amazons ever occurred. Concerning Deïmachus' sons see also p. 198, n. 1 and p. 209, n. 1 below.

[3] E.g. Ardizzoni. See prim. loc. cit. (above, p. 157, n. 1). Contrast the thinking of Blumberg (discussed above, p. 155, n. 3) in this connection.

porus or the Black Sea itself. From Mariandynia to Aretias, the next place where truly important events occur, several hundred miles must be travelled. Apollonius may well have deemed it inartistic to mention only what happened at Sinope and what did not happen at Cape Themiscyra and leave all else blank.

And let us not forget either that in parallel with the progress of the Argo eastward Heracles has been making his way overland. This becomes a matter of keen interest to the Argonauts as they learn from time to time that their erstwhile companion has preceded them to this place or that.[1]

Worthy of attention too is a suggestion of Gilbert Lawall. Observing that Apollonius has introduced into the Pontic voyage eastward some very strange localities and "a series of peoples who exemplify inversion of normal values,"[2] he discerns here an effort on the poet's part to stress once again the paideutic relevance for Jason of the adventures which he is forced to undergo. "During this part of the voyage," Lawall plausibly asserts, "Jason is being prepared for the fabulous land of the Colchians with its marvelous palace, chthonian bulls, earthborn giants, and the extraordinary serpent which guards the Fleece."[3]

II

The Argonauts do not, apparently, come into direct contact with the Mossynoeci or the Chalybes or any of the other unusual ἔθνη inhabiting the Pontic coast. In the case of the Amazons this surely proves a blessing. However, whereas the danger of a lethal confrontation with these bellicose females has been eliminated, thanks to divine intervention of a sort,[4] the approach to Ares' Isle could have turned into an even worse disaster, were it not for the presence of mind exhibited by one of the Argonauts. For the bird who wounds

[1] Note that the Deïmachids had come along with Heracles originally to aid in his quest for Hippolyte's belt. Concerning the quest itself see also above, p. 187 and n. 3.

[2] In addition to the Amazons, who combine celibacy with bellicosity, there are the exclusively metal-working Chalybes, who produce no crops (1002ff.), the Tibareni, among whom husbands of pregnant women suffer in bed while the wives themselves, despite their condition, feed and bathe them (1011ff.), also the Mossynoeci, who turn notions of public and private completely around and who, hoglike, copulate in the open air (1018ff.).

[3] Op. cit. (above, p. 44, n. 4) p. 159. Cf. Fränkel, op. cit. (above, p. 2, n. 1) pp. 262f.

[4] Cf. p. 197 and n. 2 above.

Oïleus by aiming a sharp quill in his direction (1035-1038) and the bird slain by one of Clytius' arrows (1041-1045) are not the sole exemplars of their species to infest the island and environs. Any effort to rely on archery alone to counteract the archer-like accuracy of the hostile avians[1] is doomed to failure; for the latter vastly outnumber the Argonauts, whether the Argonauts realize it or not.

Amphidamas senses the truth, however. He recognizes the island as the very landing-place which the seer Phineus had warned his comrades to approach with great cunning, it being necessary in such wise to drive off the hordes of shameless birds resident there. Indeed, Amphidamas not only advises the company to remain mindful of prophetic counsel addressed to them earlier by Phineus; he also even appropriates the seer's language, as quotation first of 382-385,

> ...λισσῆι ἐπικέλσατε νήσωι,
> μήτι παντοίηι[2] μέγ' ἀναιδέας ἐξελάσαντες
> οἰωνοὺς οἳ δῆθεν ἀπειρέσιοι ἐφέπουσιν
> νῆσον ἐρημαίην...

next of 1049-1051,

> ...ἀλλά τιν' ἄλλην
> μῆτιν πορσύνωμεν ἐπίρροθον, εἴ γ' ἐπικέλσαι
> μέλλετε...[3]

makes instantly and undeniably clear.

How very Apollonian to trim down this verbiage in its second appearance! But the key-noun will recur twice more in contexts pertinent to the present adventure, first in the middle of Amphidamas' speech,

> τῶ καὶ νῦν τοίην τιν' ἐπιφραζώμεθα μῆτιν—[1058]

[1] I suspect that Apollonius has chosen to emphasize parallelism via verbal repetition. The same aorist, ἧκε, is employed to denote both the first bird's action against Oïleus (1036) and Clytius' retaliatory move against the second bird (1044). Moreover, both the downward speeding quill and the upward directed arrow are designated as βέλος (1038 and 1044 respectively). Add an ironic note. The aorist πέσεν indicates first the descent of the quill toward Oïleus' shoulder (1036), later the descent of the second bird's corpse into the sea hard by the Argo (1045).

[2] This more or less formulaic combination recurs in the same metrical position at III 548, where Mopsus likewise calls to mind the advice of Phineus. The speech itself (545-554), which will be discussed more extensively in an early chapter of my second volume (but see also pp. 54f. above, p. 207f. below), has to do specifically with solliciting Medea's aid.

[3] Cited more fully above, p. 167 ad fin.

again as the Argonauts are shown reacting (favorably) to what their thoughtful companion has proposed:

ὣς ἄρ' ἔφη, πάντεσσι δ' ἐπίρροθος[1] ἥνδανε μῆτις. [1068]

The general principle of reliance on cunning and ingenuity rather than on force has thus once again been upheld. *Pace* G. Lawall, the Argonants, urged on by Amphidamas, have taken their cue not from any of the usual practitioners of τέχνη—not from Polydeuces, for example, not from the two Ancaei, not from Mopsus—but from the already long absent Heracles, himself the outstanding exponent of the direct approach.[2] Already at II 966ff. the poet has shown this hero to be capable of foregoing βία when he deems it more advisable to attain his object differently.[3] Amphidamas, for his own part, is quoted as saying that Heracles under circumstances comparable to those presently experienced by the Argonauts—that is, when he had been dispatched to clear the Stymphalian Lake of the masses of birds which were becoming such a nuisance to the neighborhood—realized that bow and arrows alone would not suffice (1053ff.).[4] What Heracles did instead of resorting pointlessly to arms was to shift to a sort of psychological warfare. Brandishing a bronze rattle, he created such a din that the birds were frightened into fleeing (1055-1057).[5]

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[1] Glossed here as ὠφέλιμος. Repetition of the modifier in question, employed already with the same noun at 1050 (cited above, p. 199), is, I think, deliberate. Other appearances of ἐπίρροθος occur at 225 (where likewise μῆτις happens to be the term modified) and at 1193 (cited below, p. 202, n. 2).

[2] My chief quarrel with Lawall, with whom I find myself so often in agreement otherwise, has to do with his somewhat oversimplified analysis of the Apollonian Heracles' rôle. Cf. especially above, p. 55, n. 6.

[3] To gain possession of the belt of Hippolyte he did not club the original owner with his ever present cudgel. Instead he lay in wait and kidnapped Hippolyte's sister Melanippe, taking care to specify the belt itself as ransom.

[4] Amphidamas' claim that he himself had been an eyewitness to the incident (1054) seems plausible enough. The Catalogue-entry which conjoins his name with those of Cepheus and of Ancaeus I (I 161-171; see above, p. 27) makes clear that all three heroes were native to Arcadia—the very region where the Stymphalian Lake happens to be located.

[5] According to a scholium on II 382, the routed avian armed force sped off from Arcadia to this very island. Such being the case, not only do the Argonauts confront the same sort of situation as did Heracles; they must contend with the identical enemy. And if a strategem employed by Heracles himself worked once, something similar ought to prove efficacious this time. However, nowhere does Apollonius actually affirm without ambiguity that the Aretian birds are nothing more than the birds of Stymphalus in a new setting. Whence, then, did the scholiast derive his story of the transfer?

Thus instructed by Amphidamas, who deserves much credit for having sensed the applicability both of Phineus' advice and of Heracles' example, the Argonauts succeed in scattering the enemy. The devices employed to drive them off include both horrendous noise of spear banged against shield and terrifying flashes of light from brazen helmets and from additional spears and shields arranged so as to conceal the ship's hull (1069-1072).

But I need say no more about the details of this "fear-campaign"[1] so eminently successful in the end. Nor need I discourse at length about the triad of similes at 1073ff., 1077ff., and 1084ff.,

[1] ARGONAUTS : JUXTAPOSED SHIELDS = BUILDERS : HOUSE-TILES
[2] CLAMOR RISING FROM SHIP : SHOUTS OF CLASHING PHALANXES
[3] BIRDS : VOLLEY OF QUILLS = ZEUS: DELUGE OF HAIL

which brings the narrative to a close.[2] Hermann Fränkel has more than adequately analyzed both subjects.[3]

III

Expulsion of the birds from the vicinity of Aretias allows for the fulfillment of yet another of Phineus' prophecies. With the cryptic paradox posed at 388f.,

ἔνθα γὰρ ὔμμιν ὄνειαρ ἀδευκέος ἐξ ἁλὸς εἶσιν
ἄρητον...

compare the backward-glancing rhetorical question which the poet himself introduces at 1090-1092 by way of transition:

τίς γὰρ δὴ Φινῆος ἔην νόος, ἐνθάδε κέλσαι
ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον στόλον, ἢ καὶ ἔπειτα
ποῖον ὄνειαρ ἔμελλεν ἐελδομένοισιν ἱκέσθαι;[4]

Mirmont, op. cit. (above, p.1., n.3.) p. 572, doubts that the tradition was passed on by way of Euripides' now lost *Phrixus*.

[1] Note that in each particular the Argonauts have carefully followed the suggestions laid down by Amphidamas at lines 1060-1067.

[2] Homeric precedent may have influenced the creation of all three. With the first and third cf. *Iliad* Π 212-215 and M 154-161 respectively; with the second cf. references in the *Iliad* to sound which travels up to Heaven (M 338-340; Ξ 58-60; P 424f.) or to flashes of light which do likewise (B 455-458; Λ 44f.). At T 362-364 both sound and light come into play, just as at *Arg.* II 1069f. (concerning which latter see above).

[3] See "Die Argo als Vogelscheuche," *Festschrift E. Kapp* (Hamburg, 1958) pp. 113-119, also op. cit. (above, p. 2, n. 1) pp. 264ff., where the same discussion is set forth in somewhat augmented form.

[4] See also above, p. 167.

Clarification of the mystery comes at 1093ff. What Phineus meant by "succor from the bitter sea" was the advantage which would accrue to the Argonauts as a result of their encountering the sons of Phrixus, only recently shipwrecked at this very island.[1] The four youths, Argus II, Phrontis, Melas, and Cytissorus, once taken aboard the Argo, fed, and clothed, will serve as navigational consultants during the rest of the voyage to Colchis, their own homeland, and will advise the Argonauts how best to secure the Golden Fleece.[2]

Moreover, when Jason departs from Aeëtes' realm, fleece in hand, the Phrixids will accompany him, thereby accepting the second as well as the already implemented first alternative of the generous offer made at Aretias:

> ...πάρεστι δὲ τῆσδ' ἐπὶ νηός
> ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα νέεσθαι ὅπῃ φίλον, εἴτε μετ' Αἶαν
> εἴτε μετ' ἀφνειὴν θείου πόλιν Ὀρχομενοῖο. [1184-1186]

I have stressed the adjective because it provides a reminder of why the Phrixids had tried to reach Orchomenus in the first place on the ill-fated voyage which terminated early in shipwreck. Their destination was noted for its overall prosperity.[3] It was also true that Phrixus himself possessed there considerable inherited wealth and desired to bequeath it to his sons. Too infirm to undertake a return trip to the place whence he had escaped years before on the

[1] Heinze, op. cit. (above, p. 38, n. 3) p. 112, n. 4, though struck by parallelisms between the Apollonian narrative of this meeting and Virgil's story of Achaemenides at the end of *Aen.* VI, thinks the latter much more dramatically effective. "Achaemenides vollends ist eine rein episodische Figur," argues Blumberg, op. cit. (above, p.6, n. 2) p. 51, in rebuttal, "die mit Aeneas Fahrt weiter nichts zu tun hat und ad hoc erfunden ist." "Die Phrixossöhne dagegen," he continues, "stehen durch ihre Abstammung zu dem Argonautenzuge in nahem Verhältnis und sollen, wenigstens Argos, in Kolchis noch eine Rolle spielen." Cf. the discussion below and in Vol. II.

[2] Consider not only 1192-1194 (from a speech of Jason),

> ἀλλ' ἄγεθ' ὧδε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς Ἑλλάδα μαιομένοισιν
> κῶας ἄγειν χρύσειον ἐπίρροθοι ἄμμι πέλεσθε
> καὶ πλόου ἡγεμονῆες...

but the entire exchange between Jason and Argus II (1123ff.: see pp. 203ff. below for fuller discussion), as well as the frequent and significant appearances of the Phrixids (Argus II especially: cf. n. 1 above) throughout Bk. III.

[3] Concerning the city itself and its connection with the Argonautic legend see particularly Müller, op. cit. (above, p. 30, n. 3).

back of a ram—the very ram, in fact, whose Golden Fleece now rested at Colchis[1]—he issued deathbed instructions to his sons to sail to Orchomenus that they might lay claim to their inheritance (1095f.).

But Zeus did not intend the youths to reach their destination so quickly or easily.[2] Hence he fomented the storm out of which the shipwreck resulted (1098f.). His intention was not to punish Phrixus' sons—note that through divine contrivance they were furnished the means for survival: a torn-off ship's timber large enough for all four to grasp (1110ff.)—but to ensure that their path would opportunely cross that of the Argonauts. Once the quartet are cast ashore by night on Ares' Isle, Zeus allows the storm to abate (1118-1121).

IV

With sea and sky calm and the sun newly risen, Phrixids and Argonauts quickly make contact (1121f.). A series of paired speeches ensues. Both Argus II and Jason, spokesmen for the two groups, seem aware that this encounter is no mere accident. The former immediately calls "Overseer Zeus" (Ζεὺς Ἐπόψιος) to witness as he appeals for aid in his and his brothers' distress (1123f.).[3] At the close of his initial speech he refers once again to Zeus and more or less aetiologically links the god's overseeing with his even more familiar function as protector of strangers (or guests)[4] and of suppliants, into both of which categories the Phrixids obviously fall:

> ἀλλ' ἱκέτας ξείνους Διὸς εἵνεκεν αἰδέσσασθε,[5]
> Ξεινίου Ἱκεσίου τε· Διὸς δ' ἄμφω ἱκέται τε
> καὶ ξεῖνοι, ὁ δέ που καὶ ἐπόψιος ἄμμι τέτυκται. [1131-1133]

But if Argus' allusion to cult-titles is rather reminiscent of the language of the vain plea made by Odysseus to Polyphemus, the Cyclops,

[1] See also p. 205 below.

[2] Nor did their grandfather Aeëtes, though his motives and ultimate purpose (concerning which see above, pp. 21f.) were not at all comparable to those of the deity (concerning which see directly below).

[3] Cited below, p. 208.

[4] On the ambiguity of the term ξε(ῖ)νος see especially above, p. 72, n. 1.

[5] Note the stress on *respect* both here and at *Od.* ι 269 and 271 (cited below, p. 204 ad init).

ἀλλ' αἰδεῖο, φέριστε, θεούς· ἱκέται δέ τοί εἰμεν.
Ζεὺς δ' ἐπιτιμήτωρ ἱκετάων τε ξείνων τε,
ξείνιος, ὃς ξείνοισιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ. [*Od.* ι 269-271]

the youth turns out nonetheless to be far more fortunate in the response which he has aroused. Whereas Polyphemus sneered back that the Cyclopes concerned themselves not at all about Zeus or the other gods (ι 273-278),[1] Jason, for his part, makes clear his willingness to heed the plea of the refugees for kind and generous treatment.[2]

Moreover, whereas Polyphemus breaks off his tirade to inquire into the whereabouts of Odysseus' ship (ι 279f.)—no doubt with an ulterior motive in view—and is foiled by crafty Odysseus, who only pretends that Poseidon has wrecked it (283ff.), Jason addresses to victims of a *real* shipwreck[3] the more or less standard questions with regard to name, lineage, and residence, as well as with regard to the business which necessitated their absence from home. Without duplicating Homeric models in every particular the language employed by Apollonius' Jason,

ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι κατάλεξον ἐτήτυμον ὁππόθι γαίης
ναίετε, καὶ χρέος οἷον ὑπεὶρ ἅλα νεῖσθαι ἀνώγει,
αὐτῶν θ' ὑμείων ὄνομα κλυτὸν ἠδὲ γενέθλην. [II 1137-1139]

is nevertheless strongly reminiscent not only of Odysseus' acknowledgment of Polyphemus' queries,

Κύκλωψ, εἰρωτᾷς μ' ὄνομα κλυτόν;... [ι 364]

but also of any number of direct requests for identification to be found throughout the *Odyssey*. Jason's first utterance appears to be a conflation of ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατάλεξον (α 169) and of καί μοι τοῦτ' ἀγόρευσον ἐτήτυμον, ὄφρ' ἐῢ εἰδῶ (ξ 186 = ω 297), while the interrogation itself calls to mind the oft-repeated

[1] Cf. above, p. 15, n. 3; p. 51, n. 2. Concerning Pelias' apparently analogous attitude toward Hera see pp. 15ff. above.

[2] See particularly line 1136 (cited below, p. 208). Jason's acknowledgment of divine intervention is expressed at 1166f. (cited below, ibid.).

[3] This distinction, ironically enough, turns out to be only temporary. For Odysseus will witness his own lie converted into fact, once the god becomes alerted to the Ithacan's having instigated the blinding of Polyphemus. The matter is explored in my "Odysseus' Truthful Untruths," *CB* XXXVII (1960-1961) 76.

formula, or rather collocation of two formulaic blocks, τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἠδὲ τοκῆες; (α 170[1] = κ 325 = ξ 187 = ο 264 = τ 105 = ω 298), as well as the not so well known variant ὦ ξεῖνοι, τίνες ἐστέ; πόθεν πλεῖθ' ὑγρὰ κέλευθα; (γ 71 = ι 252).

V

What motivates Jason to request complete and accurate information is a surmise that Phineus' forecast may even now be coming to fulfillment (II 1134f.). Without hesitation or evasion Argus II responds, telling initially of Phrixus' escape from Greece to Colchis on the back of a flying ram (1141ff.).[2] That divine intervention made the difference even then is clearly stated at 1144f.:

κριοῦ ἐπαμβεβαώς, τόν ῥα χρύσειον ἔθηκεν
Ἑρμείας...

Why have I emphasized the adjective? Argus' next statement, rather aetiological in orientation,

...κῶας δὲ καὶ εἰσέτι νῦν[3] κεν ἴδοισθε
πεπτάμενον λασίοισιν ἐπὶ δρυὸς ἀκρεμόνεσσιν. [1145-1145a][4]

establishes beyond contention the equivalence of the ram's coat and of the prize which Jason has been dispatched to recover. Apart from reporting the odd circumstance that the ram had decreed its own sacrifice to Zeus, "patron of refugees" (Φύξιος) (1146ff.),[5] Argus II

[1] Cited also above, p. 92, where deferral of such questions until after the guest (in this instance Athena disguised as Mentes) had been fed is the subject of discussion.

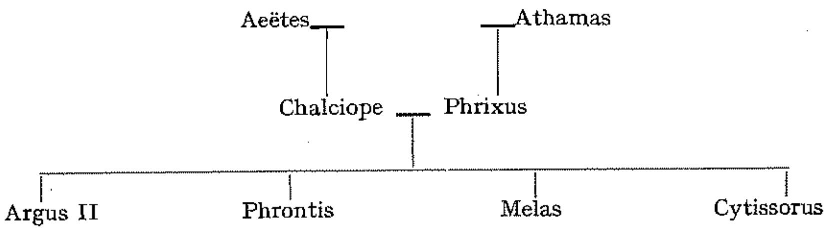
[2] Cf. above, pp. 202f., also p. 105, n. 5. Or did the ram actually swim rather than fly? Such is the understanding of Wilamowitz, op. cit. (above, p. 44, n. 4) II 244 and 246, and of D. S. Robertson, "The Flight of Phrixus," *CR* LIV (1940) 1-8 (see especially p. 7). See also Fränkel, op. cit. (above, p. 2, n. 1) p. 58.

[3] Such locutions bring many an αἴτιον to a close. Cf. above, p. 78, n. 2 etc. Observe, however, that in this instance νῦν refers not to the poet's own time, but to the time of the Argonautic expedition. The same is true of ἔτι νῦν περ / κεῖται [sc. Τυφάων] (1214f.) at the end of Argus' third speech. With regard to the latter αἴτιον itself see below, p. 210 ad fin.

[4] The recnrrence of the second verse as II 1270 (cf. below, p. 215, n. 1) is excised by Fränkel. R. F. P. Brunck (see the note ad loc. in the second volume of his edition of the *Argonautica* (Strasbourg, 1780)) urges rather that 1270 be retained, its earlier equivalent dropped.

[5] Both the scholiast in a note ad loc. and Apollodorus (I 7,2) connect the cult-title with the story of Deucalion's escape from the flood. But the former adds ἢ διὰ τὸ φυγεῖν τὸν Φρίξον αὐτόν, which is, of course, the point of the

need have said no more. Nevertheless he conscientiously fills in many details of his and his brothers' lineage and explains why the trip to Orchomenus was undertaken (1147-1156). The genealogy itself may be tabularized as follows:



Or, on the contrary, has the youth not been conscientious enough? No mention is made here of Aeëtes' parent, Helios, of his sisters, Circe and Pasiphaë, of his additional offspring, Medea and Apsyrtus. Nor is Helle, Phrixus' ill-fated sister, conceded any attention here.

These omissions are remedied, however, in other parts of the *Argonautica.* Each relative will be introduced or at least mentioned at the appropriate moment. Helle, as a matter of fact, has been memorialized already twice in Bk. I.[1] Aeëtes' descent from Helios will be noted before the end of Bk. II in a later speech of his grandson (1204),[2] while Pasiphaë's connections with the royal family of Crete and Circe's rôle as enchantress will be taken into account respectively in Bk. III (997ff.; 1074-1076; 1106ff.) and in Bk. IV (559ff. etc.).[3] That Apsyrtus (or Phaëthon, as he was also called) was only a half-brother to Medea and Chalciope is established at III 241ff., where we are told that his mother was Asterodeia, a Caucasian nymph,

Apollonian reference. Zeus is called Φύξιος again at IV 119 in a much more developed aetiological context whose focus is the place-name Κριοῦ Εὐναί (115f.). Note, however, that in the latter instance the proposal that the ram be sacrificed is said to originate not with the animal itself, but with the god Hermes. See Fränkel, op. cit. (above, p. 2, n. 1) pp. 294ff., for the latest exploration of this discrepancy.

[1] I.e. at 256f., where distraught handmaidens of Alcimede, Jason's mother, expressed a wish that Phrixus and the ram had drowned also (concerning the import of the speech as a whole see above, p. 40f.), and again at 927, where the strait into which she tumbled to her doom is not yet called Ἑλλήσποντος (that will come at line 935), but continues to be identified rather more subtly as κούρης Ἀθαμαντίδος αἰπὰ ῥέεθρα.

[2] Cited above, p. 20, n. 1.

[3] Concerning not the Apollonian Circe (discussion of whose rôle will be deferred to my second volume), but the Homeric see above, p. 156, n. 3, also p. 160.

whereas the two girls were daughters of Aeëtes' legal bride Eidyia, herself the daughter of Oceanus and of Tethys.

Medea herself is singled out for special notice in the invocation to the Muse Erato with which Bk. III begins:

> Εἰ δ' ἄγε νῦν Ἐρατώ, παρ' ἔμ' ἵστασο καί μοι ἔνισπε
> ἔνθεν ὅπως ἐς Ἰωλκὸν ἀνήγαγε κῶας Ἰήσων
> Μηδείης ὑπ' ἔρωτι...

Of course, Medea's is the pivotal rôle in the entire epic plot—that which was hinted when Phineus advised the not yet comprehending Argonauts to bethink themselves of the crafty aid of Aphrodite (II 423f.),[1] that which was more clearly recognized when the seer Mopsus, catching the connection between Phineus' prophetic pronouncements and the words of Argus II,

> κούρη τις μεγάροισιν ἐνιτρέφετ' Αἰήταο [III 528]

urged that appeals be addressed to the goddess and that Argus' recommendations (specifically with regard to enlisting Medea to practise her sorcery) be implemented (545-554).[2] It would hardly be appropriate, then, for this key-figure to receive mention for the first time as if she were merely another twig in the Phrixids' family-tree.

VI

Also omitted from the stemma which I have diagrammed above is Athamas' brother Cretheus. His name and his relationship to Athamas are indicated not by Argus II, his great-nephew, but by an overjoyed Jason, who explains that he and the sons of Phrixus are kin, inasmuch as he is himself Cretheus' grandson (II 1160-1163).[3] What a convenient coincidence that the Argo happens to be bound for Colchis, homeland of the Phrixids![4]

[1] Cf. Duckworth, op. cit. (above, p. 14, n. 2) pp. 40f., concerning Argonautic incomprehension at this juncture:

> With the exception of Phineus' *ambiguous statement* [emphasis mine] concerning the aid of Cypris...Jason and his comrades have no foreknowledge of the love-affair that is destined to play so large a part in the success of their undertaking.

[2] This speech will be qnoted and discussed in Vol. II. See also above, p. 199, n. 2, as well as pp. 54f.
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[3] Partially cited below, p. 208.

[4] But, of course, the coincidence was divinely manufactured rather than random. Cf. above, p. 203, below, p. 208 and n. 3.

One suspects that the Argonauts would have received the Phrixids hospitably in any event. Already Argus' initial appeal for aid was gaining a favorable response even before the identity of the petitioner had become known. But the intervening revelations understandably have increased Jason's enthusiasm to be of assistance.

This progression is underscored even through verbal echoing. To Argus' opening supplication,

> ἀντόμεθα πρὸς Ζηνὸς Ἐποψίου,[1] οἵτινές ἐστε
> ἀνδρῶν, εὐμενέειν τε καὶ ἀρκέσσαι χατέουσι. [1123f.]

Jason replies, rather circumspectly at first, stressing the *good will* which has been urged and which, along with material aid, he is willing to accord:

> ταῦτα μὲν αὐτίκα πάντα παρέξομεν εὐμενέοντες] [1136]

In his second speech, however, he reiterates the same theme and ties it rather more closely to acknowledgment of the just discovered bloodtie. At the same time he indicates assent to the Phrixids' request for *protection*:

> ἦ ἄρα δὴ γνωτοὶ πατρώϊοι ἄμμιν ἐόντες[2]
> λίσσεσθ' εὐμενέοντας ἐπαρκέσσαι κακότητα. [1160f.]

Even the third theme conveyed by Argus II, that of *need*, wins sympathetic recognition in Jason's second speech, this time at the end in company with a surmise that this ostensibly chance meeting of Argonauts and Phrixids came about otherwise than accidentally:

> ...ὑπ' ἐννεσίῃσι δ' ὀΐω
> ἀθανάτων ἐς χεῖρας ἐμὰς χατέοντας ἱκέσθαι. [1166f.][3]

At an earlier juncture Jason categorized the Argonauts themselves as χατέοντες, and was consequently most appreciative of the generosity with which they had been received at Lemnos (I 836f.).[4] Now they are in a position to become givers rather than receivers, or, to put it another way, hosts rather than guests.[1] Moreover, for a change an individual other than Jason—namely Argus II as he started his second speech, unaware still that it was his own cousin whom he was addressing—finds himself at a loss to cope with his troubles (ἀμηχανέων κακότητι) (II 1140).[2] And for a change Jason uplifts someone else's spirits rather than the converse.[3]

[1] Concerning the epithet see also p. 203 above.

[2] Similar language (οὕτω κεν γνωτὸς πατρώϊος ἄμμι πέλοιτο) (III 359) is assigned to the same speaker in the midst of a more detailed genealogical exposition addressed to Aeëtes. Cf. Fränkel's helpful diagram op. cit. (above, p. 2, n. 1) p. 25. Argus II and Jason are akin not only genealogically, but temperamentally as well. See above, p. 21 and n. 2, also p. 209, n. 2 below.

[3] Lawall, op. cit. (above, p. 44, n. 4) pp. 160-162, points to the constant correlation in Bk. II between coïncidence and the will of the gods. On the intervention of Zeus in particular cf. above, pp. 203f., below, p. 209.

[4] Cited above, p. 71.

VII

The episode does not end here. Once the Phrixids have been furnished dry clothing from the ship's stores (1168), sacrificial rites are performed at the shrine of Ares (1169f.). The slaughter of horses rather than of sheep or bulls is explained aetiologically as a tradition established by the Amazons during a period when they had been in the habit of coming over from the mainland (1172-1176). Following the sacrifice a banquet is held (1177); and this becomes the occasion for another set of paired speeches, but with Jason rather than Argus II discoursing first.

At the start of his mealtime oration the former once again stresses divine involvement. To his generalizing statement of this theme he appends specific examples drawn from the experience of deceased Phrixus and of his surviving progeny: the escape from the nefarious plot contrived against Helle and Phrixus by their stepmother,[4] the rescue of the Phrixids themselves from shipwreck. For in the ex-

[1] In a sense, though, they had played this rôle also in relation to Phineus, even though they were visitors in *his* country; for it was they who bathed and fed *him*. Cf. above, p. 156. They have given rather than received hospitality also in the case of Deïmachus' sons (concerning whom see p. 197 above).

[2] Concerning this formulaic clausula and other verbiage indicative of helplessness (by no means restricted to Jason and to Argus II) see above, p. 49, n. 2. The formula itself, applied to Jason twice over (II 410 and III 423: concerning the former instance see above, p. 162; the latter will be discussed in Vol. II), is cited likewise in the course of Hübscher's discussion, loc. cit. (above, p. 21, n. 2) of temperamental similarities between the two youths.

[3] See above, pp. 49f. and 173ff. respectively, with reference to the contrasting efforts of Idas and of Tiphys to dispel Jason's real or feigned despondency. Peleus' comparable rôle *vis-à-vis* the Argonauts collectively is discussed above, pp. 192ff. See also p. 211 below. It should be noted, by the way, that before his encounter with the Phrixids Jason was not always a receiver rather than a giver of encouragement. Concerning his endeavor to restore the morale of his parents and household staff, unnerved at the prospect of his departure on a seemingly hopeless mission, see above, pp. 40ff.

[4] On Helle's subsequent death by drowning (really tangential to the poem's plot) see above, p. 206, n. 1.

pressions ὑπεξείρυτο φόνοιο / μητρυιῆς (1181f.), ἀπειρέσιον πόρεν ὄλβον (1182), and ἀπήμονας ἐξεσάωσεν / χείματος οὐλομένοιο (1183f.) it is clear that the verbs are meant to have Ζεύς, subject of the verbal constituent of ἐτεὸν τὰ ἕκαστ' ἐπιδέρκεται (1179), as their own subject.

VIII

I have already taken note of Jason's offer to bring the sons of Phrixus to the destination of their choice (1184ff.), as well as of the proposal that the youths assist in guiding the ship to Colchis and in ensuring the acquisition of the Golden Fleece by the Argonauts (1192ff.).[1] But I have not considered the uneasiness which mention of the latter project arouses, unconvinced as the Phrixids are that their grandfather will relinquish the prize out of the goodness of his heart (1196-1198). Nor have I considered Argus' consequent assumption of responsibility for informing the Argonauts of specific difficulties which await them.

First, as they have already guessed and as Argus II now confirms, the would-be recipients of the Golden Fleece must contend with the haughty and belligerent personality of King Aeëtes himself (1202-1206). Another factor which will make acquisition difficult is the presence of a serpent on constant guard (1207ff.).[2] Argus' reminder that this creature cannot die and never goes to sleep (1209) seems to suggest that force alone will hardly suffice to gain the Argonauts their objective. The genealogy which makes the serpent Earth's offspring born in the Caucasus hard by "Typhon's Rock" (1209f.) is similarly calculated to hint at the futility of seeking to gain the Golden Fleece through any sort of purely human endeavor. An αἴτιον concerning the demise of Typhon, struck down by Zeus' thunderbolt, and concerning the supposed presence of his corpse even now beneath the Σερβωνὶς λίμνη in the Plain of Nysa (1210-1215)[3] is predictably appended.

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[1] See above, p. 202, with n. 2.
[2] Partially cited below, p. 214 ad fin.
[3] See also above, p. 205, n. 3. With regard to the frightful nature of the place cf. *PL.* II 592-594:

> A gulf profound as that *Serbonian* Bog
> Betwixt *Damiata* and mount *Casius* old,
> Where Armies whole have sunk...[emphasis Milton's]

The poet apparently has in mind what happened to a Persian armed force in the time of Artaxerxes (350 B.C.) Cf. Diodorus XVI 46.

Also predictable is the reaction of the Argonauts to Argus' speech. Most of them turn pale with fright (1216f.).[1] But Peleus steps in once again to play the rôle which he had taken upon himself when the Argonauts became despondent after Idmon's and Tiphys' deaths: that of restorer of morale.[2] Whereas previously he had stressed the availability of men skilled in helmsmanship (882f.),[3] he now stresses the availability of another category of specialists. Those who may be called ἐπιστάμενοι πολέμοιο (1222) make up the group in question. However, in contradistinction to Idas, whose characteristic response to all difficulties or obstacles is a call to arms,[4] Peleus makes clear that the might of Argonautic warriors should be applied only if Aeëtes fails to respond favorably to negotiation (1224).[5]

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[1] I am not convinced that significant conclusions with regard to the relative chronology of the *Argonautica* and of Callimachus' *Aetia* are to be gleaned from comparison of πολέεσσι δ' ἐπὶ χλόος εἷλε παρειάς / αὐτίκα and δειελινὴν τὴν δ' εἷλε κακὸς χλόος (fr. 75,12 Pf.). Though the term χλόος seems not to have been in use before Hellenistic times, the image itself of paleness seizing hold is conventional enough. Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* IV 499:

> haec effata silet; *pallor* simul *occupat* ora.

[2] Concerning the speech delivered on that earlier occasion by Peleus (880-884) and the optimistic utterance of Ancaeus II which preceded it (869-877) see pp. 192ff. above.
[3] Cited above, p. 192.
[4] His attitudes are examined in Ch. IV above. In my companion volume I shall discuss his show of annoyance with proposals of Argus II and of Mopsus for obtaining the Golden Fleece without violence (concerning which see also pp. 54f. above).
[5] Like Peleus before and like Argus II and Mopsus after (cf. preceding note), Ancaeus II recommends that a peaceful approach be employed, if at all possible. See II 1277ff. and the discussion below, pp. 215f.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

ΠΑΡΑ ΚΟΛΧΟΙΣ

I

Vigorous winds allow the Argonauts a quick and easy departure from Aretias at dawn (II 1228ff.) as well as conditions favorable for sailing rapidly past the territories of the Macrones, Bechires, Sapires, and Byzeres (1242-1245), all of which peoples were named in Phineus' Catalogue.[1] The imposing range of the Caucasus, already visible beyond the Euxine's eastern rim, is categorized as the place where a fast-moving eagle regularly pecks at shackled Prometheus' liver (1247-1250). That this situation, similarly described by Hesiod (*Theog.* 521-525),[2] but as already past, by the Aeschylean Hermes as about to commence at any moment (*PV* 1021-1025), exists concurrently with the voyage of the Argo becomes quite clear at II 1251ff. For the ship's crew actually catch a glimpse of the eagle as he rushes through the sky and even ruffles their sails with the whirr of his winged movements.

A simile is in order at this point. Here was no ordinary bird, the poet assures us; for he brandished pinions similar to well-planed oars (1255).[3] Fortunately for the Argonauts there is no question of

[1] See II 393-396 and p. 159 above. Already they have reached an island said to have been named for Oceanus' daughter Philyra (1231). In his Catalogue Phineus listed the island (392f.), but supplied no further information about it, save for the name of the inhabitants (i.e. Philyres) (393: cf. above, loc. cit.), obviously derived likewise from that of the eponymous maiden. At 1232ff., therefore, the inclusion of a sort of aetiological narrative about Philyra's liaison with Cronos need not be thought superfluous, especially inasmuch as the product of their illicit mating happens to be the Centaur Chiron, several times mentioned already in the *Argonautica* (I 33; 553ff. (note the use of the matronymic Φιλλυρίδης at line 554); II 509f.) and due to be mentioned yet again at IV 812f.

[2] No doubt Apollonius has appropriated the dative ἀλυκτοπέδῃσι (1249: explained in *EtG* (AB) s.v. as δεσμοῖς, ὧν οὐκ ἔστι λυθῆναι) directly from the opening of Hesiod's account:

> δῆσε δ' ἀλυκτοπέδῃσι Προμηθέα ποικιλόβουλον
> δεσμοῖς ἀργαλέοισι μέσον διὰ κίον' ἐλάσσας. [521f.]

[3] The image may have been borrowed from Aeschylus. With ἶσα δ' εὐξέστοις ὠκύπτερα πάλλεν ἐρετμοῖς cf. πτερύγων ἐρετμοῖσιν ἐρεσσόμενοι (*Ag.* 52). Virgil's *uolat ille per aëra magnum / remigio alarum* (*Aen.* I 300f.) looks back to both perhaps, as well as to *Od.* λ 125, where, however, Homer's Teiresias

the eagle's converting quills into offensive weaponry. Unlike the Aretian birds,[1] Prometheus' assailant attacks with his beak only. Ignoring the personnel aboard ship, he speeds toward the mountains for a renewed assault on Prometheus. The Argonauts do not actually see the rending of the Titan's liver; yet an agonized outcry soon reaches their ears (1256ff.).

II

That the Prometheus-narrative, for all its brevity, serves something more than a purely decorative function I am quite convinced. I suspect that Apollonius' real concern is with the psychological impact on the Argonauts of having something so frightful as the torture of Prometheus carried on repetitively so close to their destination. Forewarned of the difficulty of dealing with Aeëtes and frightened already at the prospect,[2] the crew of the Argo will hardly take heart from becoming witnesses to the eagle's flight and auditors of Prometheus' loudly reverberating groans.[3]

And the effect is enhanced through the poet's deliberate suppression of anything which might be deemed extraneous. Neither does he tell, as did Hesiod and Aeschylus, what action on Prometheus' part provoked such harsh punishment,[4] nor, despite the prominence of Heracles throughout the *Argonautica*, does he say a word about that hero's destined slaying of the eagle or about his destined release of the eagle's victim.[5]

likens oars to wings (οὐδ' εὐήρε' ἐρετμά, τά τε πτερὰ νηυσὶ πέλονται) rather than the converse.

[1] Concerning their behavior see above, pp. 198ff.

[2] Consider Argus' third speech (1200-1215) and the description of how his listeners reacted (1216f.), both discussed above, pp. 210f.

[3] Phinney, op. cit. (above, p. 10, n. 3) p. 32, n. 32, is aware of some additional respects in which the reference to Prometheus' plight proves relevant to the later action of the *Argonautica*:

> When we consider that the charm which makes Jason's capture of the Golden Fleece possible was taken from the ichor of the wounded Prometheus (3.851-853), the Prometheus scene in lines 2.1247-1259 takes on especial significance. The description of Prometheus' torture is a foreshadowing of the coming contest in which Jason's success will be assured by the Promethean charm. Prometheus is also important as the father of Deucalion, first ruler of Thessaly (3.1086-1090), Jason's native land.

[4] It should be noted, however, that Aeschylus' attitude toward the fallen Titan is far more sympathetic than that of Hesiod. The conflict between Prometheus and Zeus is discussed at length in Ch. V of my *Ethical Implications of the* πέρας-ἄπειρον *Dichotomy as Seen Particularly in the Works of Aeschylus* (Diss., Harvard University, 1957).

[5] Contrast Aeschylus, *PV* 871-873 (where what will transpire in the same

III

Oars again—real this time rather than an aërial analogue—become the focus of attention as the Argonauts, aided by the δαημοσύναι of Phrixus' son Argus,[1] arrive by night at the mouth of the River Phasis. Furling their sails and stowing them, along with sailyards and masts, they quickly row upstream:

> αὐτίκα δ' ἱστία μὲν καὶ ἐπίκριον ἔνδοθι κοίλης
> ἱστοδόκης στείλαντες ἐκόσμεον, ἐν δὲ καὶ αὐτόν
> ἱστὸν ἄφαρ χαλάσαντο παρακλιδόν· ὦκα δ' ἐρετμοῖς
> εἰσέλασαν ποταμοῖο μέγαν ῥόον... [1262-1265]

How Homeric this all is! Compare not only *Od.* ε 254, which happens to refer to mast's and yard's being fitted to receive a sail,

> ἐν δ' ἱστὸν ποίει καὶ ἐπίκριον ἄρμενον αὐτῶι.

but also, and much more relevantly, since furling and stowage are once again at issue, *Iliad* A 432-435:

> οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ λιμένος πολυβενθέος ἐντὸς ἵκοντο,
> ἱστία μὲν στείλαντο, θέσαν δ' ἐν νηῒ μελαίνηι,
> ἱστὸν δ' ἱστοδόκηι πέλασαν προτόνοισιν ὑφέντες
> καρπαλίμως, τὴν δ' εἰς ὅρμον προέρεσσαν[2] ἐρετμοῖς.

IV

Having echoed Homer, the author of the *Argonautica* is now ready to echo his own earlier statement (actually assigned to Argus II) with regard to the difficulty of gaining access to the Golden Fleece:

> οὐ μὰν οὐδ' ἀπάνευθεν ἑλεῖν δέρος Αἰήταο
> ῥηΐδιον· τοῖός μιν ὄφις περί τ' ἀμφί τ' ἔρυται. [II 1207f.][3]

author's no longer extant *PS* is effectively hinted), also even Valerius Flaccus V 154-176 (concerning which passage, as well as Apollonius II 1246ff., cf. above, p. 150, n. 3).

[1] One need not assume that the individual in question must be Argus I, though it was he who designed and built the ship in accordance with Athena's instructions (I 18f.). A Laurentian gloss on II 1260 equates, perhaps correctly, Ἄργοιο and τοῦ υἱοῦ Φρίξου. Jason's invitation to the Phrixids to become πλόου ἡγεμονῆες (II 1194) is considered above, p. 202 and n. 2.

[2] So Aristarchus et al. The ms. reading is προέρυσσαν.

[3] Cf. above, pp. 210.

> ἔνθεν δ' αὖ πεδίον τὸ Ἀρήϊον ἱερά τ' ἄλση
> τοῖο θεοῦ, τόθι κῶας ὄφις εἴρυτο δοκεύων. [1268f.][1]

Jason is credited with sufficient good sense to inaugurate libations to the gods, not excluding Earth (the Serpent's parent)[2] and local divinities (unspecified, though presumably Ares would be one of them, since it is in *his* grove that the Golden Fleece will be found), as well as to the souls of departed heroes (1271ff.). His objective is to ensure divine aid and favorable conditions for landing (1274f.).

Immediately Ancaeus II makes a speech advising the Argonauts which approach to utilize in dealing with Aeëtes (1277-1280). He bids them consider whether they will seek their objective "through honeyed persuasion" (μειλιχίηι)[3] or by some other means—unspecified, though it should be clear that force is what he has in mind.[4]

Earlier I had occasion to observe that Ancaeus II, like Tiphys before him, "does more than simply steer the ship."[5] But the new helmsman's venture into policy-making irks Hermann Fränkel, who finds fault with lines 1277f. also because they seem to lead nowhere, neither to some sort of reaction from the Argonauts nor to actual debate. For the issues are not really discussed until the next day.[6]

To tell the truth, I cannot become too excited over such objections. The specialists whom Jason has enlisted to aid him in obtaining the Golden Fleece have taken no pledge to direct their at-

[1] Blumberg, op. cit. (above, p. 6, n. 2) p. 40, finds in these verses—to which he adds 1270: πεπτάμενον λασίοισιν ἐπὶ δρυὸς ἀκρεμόνεσσιν (= Fränkel's 1145a: see above, p. 205 and n. 4)—an example of "bewusste Variierung." He compares Phineus' prediction:

> ἄλσος τε σκιόειν Ἄρεος, τόθι κῶας ἐπ' ἄκρης
> πεπτάμενον φηγοῖο δράκων, τέρας αἰνὸν ἰδέσθαι,
> ἀμφὶς ὀπιπτεύει δεδοκημένος... [404-406]

[2] See also above, p. 210, concerning this relationship.

[3] On the use of this and cognate terminology (e.g. the verb μειλίσσειν) to indicate an effort to soothe and persuade see above, pp. 64 etc. (including p. 46, n. 3).

[4] Cf. Peleus' recommendation (considered above, p. 211 ad fin.) that armed action be attempted only should diplomacy fail.

[5] See above, p. 194, n. 3.

[6] See p. 120 of Fränkel's op. cit. (above, p. 62, n. 3). As the discussion below ought to make clear, I find myself in agreement rather with the pronouncements of Phinney, loc. cit. (above, p. 65, n. 2 ad fin.):

> Ancaeus' speech, 2.1277-1280, foreshadows the action of III, much in the same way that Phineus' prophecy in 2.423f. foreshadows it. This foreshadowing is essentially a link between the two sections.

tention to nothing which lies outside their individual specialties.[1] Nor do the words of Ancaeus II fall upon unresponsive ears. It seems to me that Argus' suggestion, readily translated by Jason into a command, that the ship be moored in a thickly shaded marsh (1281ff.)—a good place to escape hostile notice, of course—is a sort of outgrowth of the pilot's speech.

What of the fact that discussion of how to proceed is deferred for almost two hundred verses (to III 167-195, that is)?[2] Fränkel may have a point after all. Yet at the same time he may also have lost sight of an important structural consideration. Cutting across the epic's four-Book arrangement is the tripartite scheme—outbound voyage (I-II), adventures at Colchis (III-IV 211), inbound voyage (IV 212ff.)—of which I spoke at the outset of this volume.[3] Inasmuch as the end of Bk. II corresponds to the end of one of the three large divisions of the poem it is understandable that the poet would try to create *suspense* both by hiding the Argonauts in the shadows and by indicating that the question of whether to rely on persuasion or on force was already being wafted through the dank nocturnal air.[4]

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[1] Ancaeus' own disinclination, on the other hand, to be classified as a warrior is explained above, pp. 192f.

[2] Also to be deferred (until Vol. II) is my own probe into the deliberations in question.

[3] See above, p. 4.

[4] Bk. II actually terminates, however, in a progression from darkness (ἔνθ' οἵγε διὰ κνέφας ηὐλίζοντο) (1284) to light (ἠὼς δ' οὐ μετὰ δηρὸν ἐελδομένοισι φαάνθη) (1285). No editor seems disposed to accept the occurrence of the latter verse in mss. also at the close of Bk. I.

APPENDIX A

"And he sang how Earth and Heaven and Sea..."[1]

I

Neither at I 496-511 nor at I 569-579 does Apollonius actually *quote* what Orpheus is alleged to have sung. In both cases he furnishes a summary in *oratio obliqua* instead.

The earlier of the two songs, introduced at a moment when Jason and the Argonauts are intervening to put an end to the quarrel between Idas and Idmon,[2] combines cosmological lore reminiscent of Empedocles and other early thinkers[3] with a sort of theogony apparently abridged from such originals as Hesiod's poem of the same name.[4]

A similar combination, likewise in *oratio obliqua*, is attempted by the author of *OA*, who must pretend to be simultaneously the teller of the whole Argonautic tale and the bard whose talents have been enlisted by Jason himself to aid his expedition. If anything, "Orpheus" has expanded the Hesiodic element. His opening reference to the primordial state of the Universe,

πρῶτα μὲν ἀρχαίου Χάεος μελανήφατον ὕμνον. [*OA* 421]

echoes *Theog.* 116,

ἦ τοι μὲν πρώτιστα Χάος γένετ' ...

rather more closely than anything extant from Empedocles' Περὶ φύσεως.[5]

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[1] Affixed to Ch. IV (specifically to p. 37 and n. 1 above).

[2] Cf. above, p. 50. Hurst, op. cit. (above, p. 9, n. 1) p. 56, understands the first song (concerning whose contents see below) also as "sans doute un hommage à Zeus qui doit réparer les insultes proférées par Idas."

[3] With I 496-498,

ἤειδεν δ' ὡς γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς ἠδὲ θάλασσα,
τὸ πρὶν ἔτ' ἀλλήλοισι μιῇ συναρηρότα μορφῇ,
νείκεος ἐξ ὀλοοῖο διέκριθεν ἀμφὶς ἕκαστα.

cf. particularly Empedocles, fr. 17 D-K.

[4] See I 503ff. With 509ff. in particular (a reference to the Cyclopes as fashioners of thunderbolts for Zeus) cf. *Theog.* 139-141.

[5] But it is the element of religious Orphism which most strongly captures the attention of H. Venzke, *Die orphischen Argonautika in ihrem Verhältnis zu Apollonios Rhodios* (Diss., Berlin, 1941) pp. 59f. On the possibility that Orphic doctrines have been introduced also into *Arg.* I 496ff. as well see below, p. 218

II

Criticism of poets who deign to introduce cosmogony "for the most part... only as a subject of song for an Orpheus...or a Silenus" is voiced by M. L. West.[1] In the former instance he has Ovid in mind (see *Met.* X 143ff.) as well as Apollonius and the author of *OA*, in the latter Virgil and Nonnus (*Ecl.* 6,31ff. and *Dion.* XIX 205ff. respectively). "The poets cared not," West continues, "from where they drew for the contents of these swiftly paraphrased songs: what Apollonius puts in Orpheus' mouth is in fact a mixture of Pherecydes and Empedocles, while Virgil even more outrageously mixes Hesiod with Lucretius."[2]

While he recognizes the eclectic character of *Arg.* I 496ff., Mirmont offers a more sympathetic analysis:

> Apollonios a voulu présenter dans ses *Argonautiques* un ensemble savant de doctrines cosmogoniques et théogoniques qui s'éloignent parfois des théories d'Homère et d'Hésiode pour se rapprocher des systèmes de l'orphisme et de la philosophie antésocratique. La théogonie et la cosmogonie d'Apollonios sont, sans doute, celles que l'érudition du Musée avait adoptées.[3]

A few pages later, however, he becomes somewhat more cautious about asserting that Orphic doctrines as such are expounded in the song under discussion. He admits that there exists here no little divergence from the more orthodox systems of Eudemus and Damascius.[4]

III

If movement away from Homeric or Hesiodic thinking may be considered progress of sorts,[5] what can be said, on the other hand,

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[1] See p. 14 of the Introduction to his annotated edition of Hesiod's *Theogony* (Oxford, 1966).

[2] Ibid. Why has West neglected to mention Hesiod in connection with Apollonius and, for that matter, in connection with "Orpheus" likewise? Concerning imitations of the *Theogony* both at *Arg.* I 509ff. and at *OA* 421 see p. 217, and n. 4 above.

[3] Op. cit. (above, p. 1, n. 3) p. 4.

[4] See p. 6 of Mirmont's dissertation.

[5] Divergence from their thought-patterns need not, however, entail abandonment of either predecessor's poetic manner or poetic vocabulary. I have indicated often enough just how Homeric Apollonius can be. Nor is his imitation of Hesiod restricted to the instances signalled in the present discussion. As to an Apollonian "evolutionary or developmental view of history," evidence is detected by Lawall, op. cit. (above, p. 44, n. 4) p. 131, n. 19, not only at I 496-511, but also at III 1086-1089 (reference to Deucalion on Jason's

of retaining the traditional conception of Orpheus as some sort of enchanter, capable through song and lyre accompaniment of mesmerizing anything animate or inanimate within earshot? Nevertheless, whereas the author of *OA* devotes as many subsequent verses to these wide-ranging effects of Orpheus' music as to its content (see 431-441 and 421-431 respectively), Apollonius economically parcels out various individual mesmerizations over several different instances of bardic performance.

The Apollonian Orpheus' ability to make rocks and trees do his bidding is noted already in the Catalogue of Argonauts (see I 26-31).[1] At I 512ff. Apollonius points to a similar uncanny effect produced by the very cosmologico-theogonical utterance presently under examination:

> ἦ, καὶ ὁ μὲν φόρμιγγα σὺν ἀμβροσίηι σχέθεν αὐδῆι·
> τοὶ δ' ἄμοτον λήξαντος ἔτι προὔχοντο κάρηνα,
> πάντες ὁμῶς ὀρθοῖσιν ἐπ' οὔασιν ἠρεμέοντες
> κηληθμῶι· τοῖόν σφιν ἐνέλλιπε θέλκτρον ἀοιδῆς.

Did Milton consult these verses before penning the start of *PL* VIII?

> The Angel ended, and in Adam's Ear
> So Charming left his voice, that he a while
> Thought him still speaking, still stood fixt to hear.

Probably he did—especially in view of the close affinity which seems to exist also between *PL* X 580ff. and *Arg.* I 503ff.[2] But in the present case he may also have consulted, as did Apollonius himself, surely, those Homeric verses which have to do with the mood of the Phaeacian court as Odysseus brings to a close his long recital of past adventures:

> ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῆι,
> κηληθμῶι δ' ἔσχοντο κατὰ μέγαρα σκιόεντα. [*Od.* λ 333f.]

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part: cf. the remarks of Phinney cited above, p. 213, n. 3), at IV 261-278 (observations of Argus II with reference to the Arcadians and to an Egyptian monarch of remote time past), and at IV 672-681 (description of creatures on Circe's island possessing mixed limbs).

[1] The depiction on Jason's cloak of a comparable feat of Amphion (I 735-741) is discussed in the article mentioned above, p. 44, n. 3.

[2] See ad locc. respectively M. Y. Hughes (p. 335 of his edition of Milton's epic (New York, 1935)) and Mooney (p. 101 of his op. cit. (above, p. 2, n.1)).

IV

Homer may have influenced yet another Apollonian reference to Orpheus' capacity for casting a spell. Though information concerning the import of the song sung by the bard as the Argo moved into the open sea (I 569ff.) is minimal—we learn only that Orpheus celebrated Artemis under the appropriate title Νηοσσόος[1]—the after-effect on aquatic life happens to be described with considerable precision:

...τοὶ δὲ βαθείης
ἰχθύες ἀΐσσοντες ὕπερθ' ἁλός, ἄμμιγα παύροις
ἄπλετοι, ὑγρὰ κέλευθα διασκαίροντες ἕποντο]
[I 572-574]

Similar language is employed in the *Iliad*. But at Σ 569-572, where Homer concerns himself with one of the rural vignettes embossed upon the shield of Achilles, the performer of the Linus-song turns out to be merely a boy, unnamed, equipped with a sonorous lyre and a delightful singing voice. Moreover, the effect which he produces upon his auditors,

...τοὶ δὲ ῥήσσοντες ἁμαρτῆι
μολπῆι τ' ἰυγμῶι τε ποσὶ σκαίροντες ἕποντο. [Σ 571f.]

need not be thought miraculous.

As a matter of fact, though Apollonius undoubtedly paid close attention to Homer's ἔκφρασις of the well decorated shield—particularly as he prepared to describe the designs embroidered on the cloak of Jason[2]—the chief model for *Arg.* I 572ff. is more likely to be found in a fragment of Simonidean lyric:

τοῦ καὶ ἀπειρέσιοι
πωτῶντ' ὄρνιθες ὑπὲρ κεφαλᾶς,
ἀνὰ δ' ἰχθύες ὀρθοί
κυανέου 'ξ ὕδατος ἅλ-
λοντο καλᾶι σὺν ἀοιδᾶι. [fr. 62 Page]

[1] Cf. II 927f., where reference to an altar erected by the Argonauts to Apollo, likewise Νηοσσόος—the epithet itself is discussed by Farnell, op. cit. (above, p. 88, n. 3) II 460—in the vicinity of Sthenelus' tomb and to sacrificial rites performed there leads to an αἴτιον involving the musician himself:

...ἂν δὲ καὶ 'Ορφεύς
θῆκε λύρην· ἐκ τοῦ δὲ Λύρη πέλει οὔνομα χώρωι. [928f.]

[2] Correspondences between the cloak and the shield are subjected to scrutiny in the article mentioned above, p. 44, n. 3.

Here are prototypes not only for Apollonius' leaping fish, but also for their being enchanted by Orpheus in particular. Whereas Homer never once mentions that bard, Simonides—if we may trust the testimony of Tzetzes, to whom we are indebted for preservation of the fragment—specifies that the producer of such effects is Orpheus and no other.[1]

[1] Or have I perhaps overdramatized? Tzetzes' lemma, as quoted and supplemented by modern editors, reads merely ὡς γράφει που περὶ αὐτοῦ [sc. 'Ορφέως] καὶ Σιμωνίδης οὕτω.

APPENDIX B

"Toward Phyllis' outflow"[1]

I

Of the physical features listed in the Apollonian account of the trip from the Symplegades to the Thynian Isle (II 648-668) only the River Rhebas and Cape Black (see 650 and 651 respectively) have been mentioned already in Phineus' Catalogue (i.e. at 349).[2] Now for the first time we learn that the Pontic coastline not far east of the Bosporus includes also a Cape Hill (σκόπελον...Κολώνης) (650)[3] and the Rivers Phyllis and Calpes (652 and 659 respectively).

The former of the two newly indicated waterways is identified in a somewhat indirect manner,

τῆι δ' ἄρ' ἐπὶ προχοὰς Φυλληΐδας...

quite conducive to aetiology. Apollonius supplies an αἴτιον of sorts, yet suppresses the etymological link between the name of the stream and the story which he sets out to tell. Thus it is left for the scholiast to explain that Phyllis is the name both of a Bithynian river and of the individual whose liaison with a certain nymph resulted in the birth of Dipsacus.[4] Only the fact that Dipsacus' mother was a nymph gains express acknowledgment from Apollonius, and only after he has specified why this hero and his habitat are relevant to the quest for the Golden Fleece:

...ἔνθα πάροιθεν
Διψακὸς υἷ' Ἀθάμαντος ἑοῖς ὑπέδεκτο δόμοισιν,
ὁππόθ' ἅμα κριῶι φεῦγε πτόλιν Ὀρχομενοῖο. [652-654][5]

[1] Affixed to Ch. XI (specifically to p. 177 and n. 2 above).
[2] Cf. above, p. 157.
[3] The name itself is, of course, simply a synonym for the generic term. See LSJ s.v., who take note of the related Latin words *collis* and *culmen* (and of English *holm* as well).
[4] *Nomen omen* (from δίψα or δίψος, meaning "thirst")? The scholiast does not say. Nor does Apollonius (concerning whose introduction of Dipsacus into his narrative see below).
[5] The scholiast adds an αἴτιον of his own concerning a prohibition on entering the town's prytaneum enforced μέχρι τοῦ νῦν against descendants of Phrixus.

This statement is brief enough, cryptic enough as well. Though Phrixus has been mentioned a few times in Bk. I (see 256; 291; 763), never up to now has he been called "son of Athamas." But now the reader is shown only the hitherto unused patronymic divorced from the name itself, yet is expected to make the connection. But why not? After all, the poet has offered a more than sufficient clue by adding that the hero in question fled his home city "in the company of a ram."[1]

II

Why single out this passage for attention? In terms of the overall structure of the *Argonautica* I find it triply significant:

[1] The reference to Athamas' son—to Phrixus, that is—prepares us for the coming encounter between Phrixus' own sons and Jason, grandchildren respectively of Athamas himself and of Athamas' brother Cretheus.[2]

[2] The reference to the ram is a reminder of what it is that the Argonauts are seeking: namely that particular animal's Golden Fleece.[3]

[3] In mentioning Orchomenus by name Apollonius identifies not only (directly) the starting point for the flight of Phrixus, but also (proleptically, so to speak) the destination toward which Phrixus' sons were travelling at the time of their shipwreck.[4]

[1] Alert readers would have remembered too that Phrixus' sister Helle, having once been mentioned by name along with Phrixus himself (I 256: cf. above, p. 206 and n. 1), was later called simply κούρη Ἀθαμαντίς (I 927: cf. above, ibid.). Note, however, that Helle's abortive participation in the escape is left unacknowledged in the passage presently under consideration.
[2] Concerning that meeting see above, pp. 203ff. See pp. 206-208 with regard specifically to the revelation of linked genealogies.
[3] On the equivalence between the κῶας sought by Jason and the coat removed from this particular ram after its self-ordained sacrifice see above, p. 205.
[4] That Orchomenus was to be the terminus of their westbound voyage is made clear first by the poet in his own person at II 1093ff., again at II 1152ff. in the course of a speech assigned to Argus II. Cf. above, pp. 202f. and 206 respectively.

APPENDIX C

"...and streams of Lycus"[1]

I

The territory of the Mariandyni is registered already in Phineus' Catalogue (II 352),[2] as are three noteworthy features of the local landscape: the Cave of Hades, the Acherusian Cape, and the River Acheron (see respectively 353; 354; 355).[3] All three are described more fully at 729-745, though not in the same order.[4]

On the other hand, none of the detail glimpsed in passing in the course of the voyage from Thynias to Mariandynia has received any previous mention at all from Phineus. Nor does any of it gain more than the briefest listing at 722-725:

> ἔνθεν δ' ἀντιπέρην ποταμοῦ στόμα Σαγγαρίοιο
> καὶ Μαριανδυνῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐριθηλέα γαῖαν
> ἠδὲ Λύκοιο ῥέεθρα καὶ 'Ανθεμοεισίδα λίμνην
> δερκόμενοι παράμειβον...[5]

It is as if these verses were hardly more than an addendum belatedly appended to the Catalogue of Phineus. Change the concluding verb-form to παραμείψετε, and the seer himself could again be telling the Argonauts what to expect in the early stages of the voyage eastward along the Euxine's shore.

II

Such cataloguish brevity has allowed one kind of erudition to be exhibited at the expense of another. Had the two rivers and the marsh been more than tangential to his concern, Apollonius might have dwelt on etymological or aetiological implications and connected each with the appropriate eponym.

[1] Affixed to Ch. XII (specifically to p. 182 and n. 2 above).
[2] Cf. above, p. 157. Concerning still earlier references to the Mariandyni themselves see p. 147. above, also p. 157, n. 5.
[3] See also above, pp. 157f. The first is omitted from my table only because Phineus' reference is so vague. Contrast ἵνα τε σπέος ἔστ' 'Αΐδαο at line 735.
[4] Concerning the second references (to the stream especially) see Appendix D below.
[5] The significance of the names applied to the marsh and rivers is probed below and at p. 225, nn. 1ff.

Perhaps he has not relinquished such opportunities entirely, however, but has been so subtle about it that only a fellow Alexandrian would readily have understood. Apollonius does not flatly assert that the second of the two rivers sighted by the Argonauts takes its name from the monarch destined to be their host. Instead he resorts, as so often, to ambiguous language. Are Λύκοιο ῥέεθρα simply "streams of the River Lycus" or instead "streams of Lycus, the eponymous hero?"

Having penned nothing so unequivocal as the scholiast's Λύκος ποταμὸς ὁμώνυμος τῶι βασιλεῖ,[1] Apollonius also avoids direct reference either to the tradition, cited likewise by the scholiast, which derives the name of the nearby marsh ἀπὸ 'Ανθεμοεισίας τῆς Λύκου μὲν θυγατρός, γυναικὸς δὲ Δασκύλου τοῦ Ταντάλου υἱοῦ,[2] or, again, to that alternative tradition which derives 'Ανθεμοῦς, applicable not only to the marsh, but to a χωρίον...τῆς Μαριανδυνίας and to a river as well, rather "from the adjacent flowering plain" (ἀπὸ τοῦ παρακειμένου πεδίου πεπληρωμένου ἀνθέων) (*EtG* (AB) s.v.).

Nor does Apollonius tell, as do the scholiasts and etymologists,[3] how a certain Sangas in punishment for impiety toward the goddess Rhea was transformed into a river which came to be called Sangarius as a result. How very Ovidian this all sounds! Yet it would be fruitless to riffle through the *Metamorphoses* in search of the story. Sangas does not appear in that poem any more than he appears in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius. Both authors seem to be interested only in the river, called Sagaris in the younger's *Ex Ponto* (IV 10, 47), where it is mentioned along with the Lycus and several other watercourses which empty into the Black Sea.[4]

[1] Xenophon, *Anab.* VI 2,3, catalogues the waterway as ποταμὸς Λύκος ὄνομα, but makes no attempt to explain whence the ὄνομα comes. Contrast *OA* 718f.,

> ἀμφὶ Λύκοιο ῥέεθρον ἐκέλσαμεν, ὧι ἔπι λαοῖς
> κραῖνε Λύκος ποταμοῖο φερώνυμος...

redolent successively of Apollonius' baffling original and of the supposedly explanatory scholium ad loc.
[2] Another scholium (on line 752) distinguishes between Lycus, father of Anthemoesia, and Lycus, Anthemoesia's son. The former would be identifiable with the river, the latter with the monarch who welcomed the Argonauts. Concerning the two Dascyli mentioned by Apollonius himself see above, pp. 187-189 and p. 188, nn. 1-3.
[3] The latter credit the story to noone in particular (φασίν); the former specify that Hermogenes tells of it in his Περὶ Φρυγίας (fr. 1 M. III 524).
[4] In a similar listing at *NH* VI 1,4 the elder Pliny employs the more familiar form *Sangarius*, yet notes that some call the stream *Sagiarius* rather.

APPENDIX D

"Sailor-saving River"[1]

I

Attached to brief remarks concerning the Acheron and its gorge (743-745) is an αἴτιον, whose ostensible function it is to notify us how in later times the stream itself came to be called Soönautes rather. Megarian colonists coined the new name, Apollonius explains, in gratitude for protection from storms which they encountered upon their arrival in the area (746-749).

Whatever its ultimate source, the poet's explanation is accepted and amplified in a pair of scholia ad loc. The former states that the storm-tossed Megarians escaped upstream (χειμασθέντες εἰς τὸν Ἀχέροντα ποταμὸν κατέφυγον), the latter that the Acheron affords calm and quiet harborage (ἀπαθεῖς ἔχων καὶ ἠρεμαίους λιμένας). Yet I wonder whether the meaningful newer name of the river instead of commemorating an actual event, such as that signalled in Apollonius' δὴ γάρ σφεας ἐξεσάωσεν / αὐτῇισιν νήεσσι, κακῆι χρίμψαντες ἀέλληι (748f.), may not have been originally euphemistic or even apotropaic. Surely Ἀχέρων ποταμός and ἄκρη Ἀχερουσιάς would have been frightening enough to travellers by sea, even without any σπέος Ἀΐδαο added to complete a dire triad. If the Megarians were to colonize the territory round about, why not make life more pleasant and perhaps less dangerous as well? A first step would be to rename the river honorifically, whether in acknowledgment of actual aid or—as I think quite likely—in the hope that Σοωναύτης ποταμός would prove friend rather than foe on future occasions where its protective potentialities might need to be utilized.[2]

II

Oddly enough, Apollonius does not even identify the πόλις which the transplanted Megarians are said to have founded.[3] Did he deem

[1] Affixed to Ch. XII (specifically to loc. cit. (above, p. 224, n. 1) and to p. 184, n. 2 above).

[2] Consider too the application of the more or less synonymous epithet Νηοσσόος to the divinities Artemis and Apollo (briefly mentioned above, pp. 220f. and n. 1).

[3] Apparently they did not practise exclusivism. According to a scholium

information of this sort inessential to his epic plot? Or did he assume rather that his readers would have the wit and erudition to recognize that he was talking about Heraclea Pontica, the very place which served as Lycus' capital? Knowing—or presuming to know—the predilections both of the poet and of the Alexandrian cognoscenti who were his contemporaries, I lean toward the latter explanation.

(c) on II 743-749, some Boeotians likewise took part in establishing the new colony. Pausanias is more specific: he calls them Βοιωτῶν Ταναγραῖοι (V 26,7 ad fin.).

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This list does not pretend to be either a complete or a selective bibliography of Apolloniana. Many works on the *Argonautica* which I have consulted find no place here simply because there was no occasion or need to bring them into the discussion above. On the other hand, this list contains a number of items not normally to be catalogued in an Apollonian bibliography, yet relevant in one way or another to the subject under exploration. Affixed to every entry is a bracketed indication of the note above in which the initial reference occurs.

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INDEX

Rather than construct at least five distinct indices (gods & heroes, geographical names, terminology of special interest, Greek words or expressions quoted, latter-day scholars) I have elected to bring all categories together into a single index. In the interest of economy of space I have cut cross-referencing to a minimum and have grouped synonyms or closely related terms together, starting usually with the earliest in the alphabet. Greek or Latin, sometimes even German, French, or Italian equivalents may be included likewise. But keep in mind that a reference to page or note may stand even though the name or term in question is merely implied rather than actually printed on that page or in that note. Quotations in whole or in part from Apollonius or from other ancient authors are indicated in parentheses after the page or note reference.

Abandonment, desertion, discard, sloughing off 69, 2; 86, 1; 123; 152; 174; 175; 176, 3; 178; 187
Abas (Ἄβας) 105, 3
Abduction, capture, kidnap, ravishment (ἁρπαγή) 116f.; 121; 123f.; 127; 133; 200, 3
Abel, D. H. 3, 5; 228
Abortive, fruitless, futile, pointless, trivial, vain, wasteful. See also under childish, helpless, &c. 57; 119; 124f. incl. 125, 2; 175f.; 187 & 1; 190, 2; 199; 200; 203f.; 210; 223, 1; 225
Abrupt, sheer (ἀποτμήξ) 169; 170
Absent, disappeared, discarded, lost, missing. See also under separation & regret. 103; 109; 112 & 1; 115f.; 118 & 1; 119; 123; 124; 125f.; 148; 160, 4; 185; 186; 200
Academy 116, 4
Acastus (Ἄκαστος) 25, 3; 28 & 2; 29, 3; 30, 3; 37; 43; 44 & 3; 68f.; 90; 103; 188, 3
Accident, coïncidence 147, 5; 151; 207 & 4; 208 & 3
Acclaim, fame, glory, renown (κλέος) (κῦδος) 10 & 2; 33f. incl. 33, 4; 45; 48 & 2; 50, 3; 152, 1; 178; 184
Accurate, clinical, exact, graphic, precise, realistic (ἀκριβής) (ἀτρεκής). See also under true &c. 11; 102 & 1; 116, 3; 142f.; 145f. incl. 145. 2; 167, 1; 204; 205; 220
Accursed, destructive (ὀλοός) 103; 169, 3; 171; 210; 217, 3
Achaemenides (Ἀχαιμενίδης) 202, 1
Achaea (Ἀχαΐα) & Achaeans (Ἀχαιοί). See also under Greece & Greeks. 27 & 2-3; 31; 41; 174; 175; 179
Acheloüs (Ἀχελῷιος) 142, 1
River Acheron (Ἀχέρων) or sailor-savor (Σοωναύτης) 158; 194 & 4; 224 & 4; 226
Cape Acherusi(a)s (Ἀχερουσὶς ἄκρη) 157; 189 & 1; 224; 226
Achilles (Ἀχιλλεύς) 11; 15, 3; 32 & 1; 41; 47, 1; 48 & 2; 53, 6; 62; 116, 4; 142, 1; 152, 1; 179 & 5; 191, 4; 220
Actor (Ἄκτωρ) 32 & 4; 195
Adam 219
Adjacent, juxtaposed 87, 1; 105, 1; 120-122 incl. 120, 2; 125; 131 3;, 132; 135; 191; 201
Admetus (Ἄδμητος) 25; 29 & 3; 95 & 2
Admiration & respect 121, 1; 203, 5
Admonition, advice, counsel, instructions. See also under assemblies &c.; design &c. 33; 66; 152, 1; 154; 156 & 3; 159; 160; 166 & 6; 167 & 2; 171; 174; 175 & 1; 176, 3; 186; 194, 3; 199 & 2; 201; 202; 203; 207; 210; 211 & 4-5; 213; 214, 1; 215; 216
Adrastus (Ἄδρηστος) 94, 4
Advantage, benefit, gain, succor (κέρδος) (ὄνειαρ) (συμφέρον) 42; 64; 66; 132; 140, 3; 154; 156; 173; 180; 183, 4; 187; 188; 193; 201f.
Adversary, antagonist, enemy, foe

57; 93 & 2; 100 & 3; 112, 2; 134; 135; 138, 4; 140 & 2; 142 & 1-2; 143; 146; 147, 5; 167; 184, 2; 200, 5; 201; 216; 226
Aea (Αἶα) 15; 162; 202
Aeëtes (Αἰήτης) 19; 20, 1-2 & 4; 21 & 2; 22 & 5; 23 & 1; 30, 4; 34, 1; 44; 74; 81 & 3; 83, 1; 88, 1; 138, 4; 159, 3; 202; 203, 2; 206f.; 208; 210; 211; 213; 214; 215
Aegean Sea (Αἰγαῖος πόντος) 59
Aegina (Αἴγινα) 26, 1
Aegletes (Αἰγλήτης) (epithet of Apollo) 39, 2
Aegyptids (Αἰγύπτοι υἱοί). See also under Lynceus (son of Aegyptus). 60 & 2; 74
Aeneas (Αἰνείας) 1; 39, 4; 69, 2; 71 & 2; 82; 83 & 1; 84; 85, 1; 132, 1; 142, 1; 163, 2; 184; 202, 1
Aenete (Αἰνήτη) 94
Aeneus (Αἰνεύς) & Aeneian (Αἰνήϊος) 94
Aeolus (Αἴολος) & Aeolids (Αἰολίδαι) 19; 21; 31, 1; 48; 164, 3
Aërial or airborne 150, 3; 169 & 3; 214
Aeschylus 20, 1; 24; 60, 2; 78, 3-4; 140, 2 (*PV* 212f.); 150, 3; 160 & 3; 164, 4; 183, 6 (*PV* 190-192); 212 & 3 (*Ag.* 52); 213 & 4-5
Aeson (Αἴσων). See also under Jason. 37; 38; 40; 41; 150; 209, 3
Aethalides (Αἰθαλίδης) 25; 63 & 2; 64; 66; 138
Aetiological & etymological lore. See also under eponyms & c.; etymologica &lexica. 5 & 2; 15, 1; 30, 4; 31 & 1; 33, 4; 59 & 2; 60; 78, 2; 79, 4; 87; 88, 2-3; 89; 90; 91; 98; 104; 106; 108 & 1; 112f. incl. 113, 1-2; 147; 158, 1; 159, 3; 161, 1; 163f. incl. 164, 1-3; 165 & 1-2; 178 & 2; 180f. incl. 180, 5 & 181, 2; 189; 194 & 4; 195, 1; 197; 203; 205 & 3 & 5; 209; 210; 212, 1; 220, 1; 222 & 3-5; 224f. incl. 224, 5 & 225, 1-2; 226
Aetolia (Αἰτωλία) & Aetolians (Αἰτωλοί) 24, 3; 27f. incl. 27, 3
Agamede (Ἀγαμήδη) 30, 4
Agamemnon (Ἀγαμέμνων) (Ἀτρείδης) 11; 31; 47, 1; 62; 65; 102, 2; 174 & 2-3; 175 & 1; 176 & 3
Agathias Scholasticus 178, 6 (*AP* V 287, 6)
Age & decrepitude (γῆρας) 42; 43; 65 & 1-3; 66; 128, 2; 151
Agenor (Ἀγήνωρ) 152, 3
Agent or tool 14; 15; 17 & 2-3
Aggressor or pursuer (διώκων) 127f.; 163 & 2; 164
Aid, help (ἀρωγή) (βοήθεια). See also under divine intervention. 16f.; 83; 128, 4; 145; 152, 1; 154; 155; 171; 180; 181; 183; 190; 199, 2; 200 & 1; 202, 2; 203; 207 & 1; 208; 215; 226
Ajax (Αἴας) (son of Telamon) 31; 55, 5; 87, 1; 151
Ajax (Αἴας) (son of Telamon) 31; 55, 5; 87, 1; 151
Ajax (Αἴας) (son of Oïleus) 31; 103
Alcestis (Ἄλκηστις) 29, 3; 95
Alcimede (Ἀλκιμήδη) 20 & 7; 37; 38; 40; 41; 42; 43; 46; 50, 2; 150; 206, 1; 209, 3
Alcinoüs (Ἀλκίνοος) 34, 1; 184
Alcmene (Ἀλκμήνη) 100
Alexandrian or Hellenistic (Hellenistisch) 4 & 5; 10, 1; 11 & 2; 33; 38, 3; 57, 4; 65, 2; 68, 1; 82; 87 & 3; 113, 4; 122 & 5; 131, 2; 147; 153; 155; 161; 178, 5; 197; 211, 1; 225; 227
Allen, T. W. 24, 2; 27, 2; 228
Allen, W. Jr. 11, 3; 228
Aloeus (Ἀλωεύς) 54
Altar, shrine, temple (βωμός) (νηόν) (τέμενος). See also under rituals & sacrifices. 88 & 3; 158 & 7; 166, 5; 178; 180 & 1; 189; 209; 220, 1
Altercation, clash of will, dispute, quarrel, strife, verbal duel, wrangling (ἀγών) (νεῖκος) 49-52; 111f.; 112 & 2; 117, 5; 124; 134; 135; 139 & 3; 140; 217 & 2-3
Alternative options (incl. dilemmas) 48 & 2; 83, 1; 97; 152 & 1; 202; 215 & 4; 216
Alternative traditions (incl. mythological variants). See also under conflict; deviation. 45, 1; 62; 68, 2; 93, 2; 97, 2; 99, 3; 112, 2; 115 & 4; 116 & 3; 118 & 1 & 3; 120; 143, 4; 152-156 incl. 152, 1-2

& 4 & 153, 1-2 & 5 & 154, 1; 164, 4; 166, 6; 200, 5; 205, 5; 225 & 2-4
Altruism, unselfishness 175f.; 190
Amarantian mountains (Ἀμαράντων ὄρεα) 159, 3
Amatory, amorous, erotic. See also under love. 17; 121; 128 & 3; 146, 3; 178, 6
Amazons (Ἀμαζόνες) (Ἀμαζονίδες) 61; 158 & 4 & 7; 160, 3; 195 & 1; 197 & 2; 198 & 2; 209
Amber 90, 2
Ambiguity or duality (incl. double-entendre). See also under irony. 17 & 1; 72, 1; 76 & 1-2 & 4; 77 & 3; 78; 92 & 1; 96 & 1; 105, 1; 123, 3; 126, 7; 127; 200, 5; 203, 4; 207, 1; 225
Ambush, snare, trap 69, 2; 86, 1; 139, 1; 140
Amphiaraus (Ἀμφιάρεως) 32 & 4
Amphidamas (Ἀμφιδάμας) 27; 168 & 1 & 3; 199-201 incl. 200, 4 & 201, 1
Amphion (Ἀμφίων) 27; 219, 1
Amphitryo(n) (Ἀμφιτρύων) 100
Amphius (Ἄμφιος) 94, 4
Amusing, comical, humorous, laughable, ridiculous (γελῶιος) 16 & 4; 50; 60 & 4; 73, 4; 143, 3
Amyclae (Ἀμύκλαι) 148, 1
Amycus (Ἄμυκος) 3 & 7; 12; 47, 4; 54, 4; Ch. VIII passim; 163; 169 & 2; 170 & 2; 183 & 4; 184, 2; 185 & 4; 187
Amymone (Ἀμυμώνη) 191
Anachronism 27, 2; 56
Analogies, correspondences, parallels, similarities. See also under imagery; imitation &c. 38 & 2; 39 & 2 & 4; 40 & 1; 43 & 2; 46; 58, 4; 61; 65, 2; 70; 79; 80; 81 & 2; 82; 83 & 1-2 & 4; 86, 1; 98f.; 100f.; 107; 110; 119 & 6; 121 & 1; 124f.; 126-128 incl. 127, 2; 131; 132; 133, 2; 134, 3; 135; 136 & 1; 137f. incl. 138, 4-5; 139, 4; 140, 2; 141 & 2; 142 & 1; 145 & 3; 146f.; 150f. incl. 150, 1 & 3 & 151, 1; 152, 1; 155, 3; 156, 3; 163 & 2; 164; 166, 5; 168; 169-171 incl. 170, 4; 172; 174-176 incl. 174, 2; 178f. incl. 179, 1; 183; 184 & 2; 189f. incl. 200, 5 & 201, 1; 204, 1; 208 2; 209, 2; 212 & 3; 214; 220, 2
Analysts & unitarians 11, 3
Anaphora 104; 115 & 1
River Anaurus (Ἄναυρος) 13; 18 & 3
Anatolia (Ἀνατολία). See also under Asia. 197f.
Ancaeus I (Ἀγκαῖος) (son of Lycurgus) 27; 29; 30; 112, 1; 148, 4; 200 & 4-5
Ancaeus II (Ἀγκαῖος) (son of Poseidon) 27 & 1 & 3; 29; 30; 36; 49, 2; 55, 6; 190 & 3; 191-194 incl. 194, 3; 200; 211, 2; 215 & 6; 216 & 1
Anchor (ἄγκυρα) 88
Ancon (Ἀγκών) (ἀγκών) 158, 3; 161 & 2
Andromache (Ἀνδρομάχη) 41f. incl. 42, 1; 43, 2; 53, 6
Angel (sc. Raphael) 219
Anger, rage, wrath (κότος) (μῆνις) (ὀργή) (χόλος) 19; 22, 1-2; 62; 125; 142 & 1; 144; 153; 183, 6
Animals, beasts, wildlife (incl. carnivores, herbivores) (θῆρες) (fauna). See also under birds; fish; predators. 89; 91; 98f.; 100 & 1; 108, 1; 119; 127; 138; 153; 183, 3; 218, 5
Anna 82f. incl. 83, 2
Anonymous 116, 5
Anthemoesia (Ἀνθεμοεσία) 225 & 2
Anthemoesian (sc. marsh, river, region) (Ἀνθεμοεισὶς λίμνη &c.) 224 & 5; 225
Anticlides 118, 1
Anti-heroic 44, 4; 46; 57; 175, 2
Antilochus (Ἀντίλοχος) 33, 1; 103
Anthiphus (Ἄντιφος) 31
Antoninus Liberalis 45, 1
Anxiety, diffidence, fear (δέος) (τάρβος) (φόβος) (formido) (pauor) (timor). See also under frightful &c. 40 & 2; 48, 2; 50 & 2; 61 & 3; 74; 89; 93; 95; 196f.; 100; 146; 162; 167; 171; 172; 173; 175; 179 & 1; 190, 2; 192; 200f.; 211
Apharetidae (Ἀφαρητίδαι). See also under Idas; Lynceus. 54, 3; 131, 3
Aphrodite (Ἀφροδίτη) (Κύπρις) (Κυ-

θέρεια) = Venus 16 & 3; 17 & 1-2; 22, 4; 39, 4; 58; 61, 1; 62; 76; 78, 4; 117 & 1; 207 & 1

Apollo (Ἀπόλλων) (Λητοΐδης) (Φοῖβος) 10 & 3; 11; 30; 34; 37; 39 & 1-2; 40 & 1; 43; 46; 51, 1; 58; 70; 88 & 3; 105 & 3; 132 & 3; 138; 163, 2; Ch. XI passim; 182 & 1 & 3; 183, 3; 186; 190, 2; 195 & 2; 220, 1; 226, 2

Apollodorus 13, 2-3; 26, 2; 32; 33, 2; 34, 2; 68, 2; 143, 4; 152, 4; 153 & 1; 154; 165, 2; 205, 5

Apollonius Rhodius: influenced by or vies with Homer 2, 6; 3, 1-4; 4; 5f.; 10 & 2; 11 & 2; 12 & 4; Ch. III passim; 38 & 2; 41f.; 43, 2; 48 & 2; 59; 64f.; 67f.; 68, 1; 69f. incl. 70, 1; 80, 2; 81, 1-2; 90, 3; 92; 94 & 3-5; 101; 102 & 4; 103; 104; 106; 116, 3; 117, 5; 127, 1-2; 136, 3; 145 & 1 & 3; 147, 2; 162, 3; 164, 3; 165f,; 169; 174f.; 176; 178 & 5; 179 & 1; 180 & 4; 182f. incl. 183, 1; 187, 4; 201, 2; 204f.; 212, 3; 214; 218 & 5; 219-221

Apollonius Rhodius: influences or is resisted by later poets. See also under correction. 1, 2-3; 4; 39, 4; 62, 2; 74, 1; 78; 80, 3; 82f.; 93, 2; 104 & 1; 141, 1; 147, 2; 165; 170, 3; 189, 3; 202, 1; 212, 3; 225

Apollonius Rhodius: specific passages quoted in full or in part from the *Argonautica* 9 (I 4; 3; 2f.); 10, 2 (I 1f.); 14 (I 1304); 15 (III 1134-1136; IV 241-243; I 5f.; 13f.); 16 (III 64f.); 17 (III 74f.); 19 (II 1194f.; III 333-339); 20 (I 981; II 763; 210; 615; III 390; I 279; III 388-390) & 1 (II 1204) & 4 (III 333f.) & 6 (I 3); 22 (III 375f.); 30, 5 (I 228); 39 (I 1; 307-310; 310f.); 40, 2 (I 262); 42 (I 268-277); 43 (I 324-326); 44 (I 336f.) & 4 (III 173f.); 45 (I 338; 347); 46 (I 350; 363f.) & 3 (I 293f.); 48 (I 440-442; 443f.); 49 (I 460f.; 151; 462) & 2 (I 638f. &c.) & 3 (I 152); 50 (I 463-465; 467-470) & 3 (I 466f.); 51 (I 471); 52 (I 490f.); 59 (I 607f.); 60 (I 609f.); 61 (I 636; 638f.; 611-614); 62 (I 614f.); 63, 2 (I 648f.); 64 (I 650; 662; 665f.) & 1 (I 719); 65 (I 669f.; 672); 66 (I 675f.; 694-696) & 2 (II 218); 67 (I 675; 697f.; 700f.; 703-707; 712-716) & 3 (I 702) & 4 (I 714); 68, 2 (I 773); 69 (I 774; 843); 70 (I 774-781; 238-240); 71 (I 839-841; 836f.); 72 (I 659f.; 793f.; 832f.; 790-792) & 1 (I 849); 73 (III 1008-1010; 974f.) & 4 (III 784; 783); 74 (I 874f.); 76 (I 794; 802f.) & 4 (I 807; 1302); 77 (I 822f.); 79 (I 851f.) & 1 (I 872-874); 81 (I 896-898; III 1069f.; 1109f.; 1071; 1111; 1110); 88, 2 (I 949; 1150); 91 (I 961f.; 963); 92 (I 962f.); 94 (I 968; 969-971; 972; 973; 948-950; 974; 975; 976); 95 (I 976f.; 979); 97 (I 983f.); 98 (I 985f.; 988; 986f.); 99 (I 989-991; 994f.); 100 (I 996f.); 101 (I 1011; 1030f.) & 1 (I 1251); 102 (I 1035; 1037-1039) & 3 (IV 1504); 103 (I 1040-1043; 1053f.); 104 (I 1059; IV 1535; I 1084f.); 105 (I 65f.) & 1 (I 1096f.; 1087); 106 (I 1085f.; 1094f.; 1087; 1095); 107 (I 1083-1085; 1106); 108 (I 1151f.; 1012-1014; 1086; 1094f.); 117 (I 131f.; 1211-1214) & 5 (I 1219); 121 (I 1188f.; 1208f.); 124 (I 1284); 125 (I 1263); 127 (I 1243f.; 1259f.; 1230; 1238); 128, 2 (I 43f.) & 3 (I 1245); 132 (I 1182-1186); 134 (II 22-24); 135 (II 4; 110) & 4 (II 39); 136 (II 37); 137 (I 774; 238-240); 138 (II 43-45) & 2 (II 41) & 5 (II 2); 141 (II 81); 142 (II 92f.); 143 (II 95); 144 (II 97); 145 (II 109; 108) & 5 (II 108); 146 (II 129; 110; 4); 147 (II 137f.) & 3 (II 66; 65); 148 (II 145-153; 154); 150 (II 18 &c.); 155, 2 (II 444) & 3 (II 312); 157, 3 (II 529; 177; 460; 350; 673; 788); 158 (II 390f.) & 7 (II 1169; 385f.); 159 (I 1220); 161, 2 (II 369f.); 162 (II 408f.; 409f.; 416-418); 163 (II 289); 164 (II 267; I 1016f.) & 2 (II 276); 165 (II 295-297) & 1 (II 285); 166 (II 287; 432; 289; 295; 433; 298f.; 433f.); 167 (II 1049-1051); 168 (II 1134f.); 169 (II 541-546; 566) & 1 (I 2f. &c.; II 596 &c.; II 330 &c.; II 412 &c.) & 3 (II 600); 170 (II 581; 592; 594; 600); 171 (II 571-573; 575; 577; 578; 603; 345f.); 172 (II 590f.; 572f.; 603; 607-610); 173 (II 638-640; 622f.; 641); 174 (II 638); 178 (II 676f.); 179 (II 679f.; 681-683) & 1 (III 1218); 180 (II 684; 686-688; 688f.; 689-691; 692f.; 698; 700); 181 (II 714-719) & 1 (II 701-704) 182, 4 (II 727; 751); 183f. (II 755-757) incl. 183, 1 (II 721) & 184, 2 (II 758; 792); 186, 3 (II 765); 187 (II 796) & 4 (II 796f.); 188, 3 (II 814; I 323); 189 (II 756); 190 (II 886); 191 (I 188f.; 138; 180; II 588-590) & 4 (IV 1465; 1483); 192 (II 882f.; 874-876; 870-872; 873); 193 (I 188f.; II 874; 882f.); 194 (II 897) & 2 (II 895) & 4 (II 905f.; 907ff.); 195 (II 922f.; I 65f.; 80) & 2 (I 65f.; 144f.); 199 (II 382-385; 1049-1051; 1058) & 1 (II 1036; 1044; 1038; 1044; 1036; 1045); 200 (II 1068) & 1 (II 225; 1193); 201 (I 388f.; 1090-1092); 202 (II 1184-1186) & 2 (II 1192-1194); 203 (II 1123; 1131-1133); 204 (II 1137-1139); 205 (II 1144f.; 1145-1145a; 1142) & 3 (II 1214f,) & 5 (IV 119; 115f.); 206, 1 (I 927; 935); 207 (III 1-3; 528); 208 (II 1123f,; 1136; 1160f.; 1166f.) & 2 (III 359); 209 (II 1140); 210 (II 1181f.; 1182; 1183f.; 1179; 1215); 211 (II 1222) & 1 (II 1216f.); 212, 1 (II 554) & 2 (II 1249) & 3 (II 1255); 214 (II 1262-1265; 1207f.) & 1 (II 1260; 1194); 215 (II 1268f.; 1279) & 1 (II 1270 = 1145a; 404-406); 216, 4 (II 1284f.) 217, 3 (I 496-498); 219 (I 512-515); 220 (I 572-574) & 1 (II 928f.); 222 (II 650; 652; 652-654); 223, 1 (I 927); 224 (I 722-725) & 3 (II 735); 225 (II 748f.)

Apples (μῆλα) 58

Apsyrtus (Ἄψυρτος) or Phaëthon (Φαέθων) 22; 46, 3; 69, 2; 84, 6; 86, 1; 206f.

Aptness (Geschicklichkeit) 6, 2; 119 & 4; 155, 3; 161

Arabia (Ἀραβία) 62, 3

Arachne (Ἀράχνη) 87, 1

Aratus 11 (*Phaen.* 1)

Arcadia (Ἀρκαδία) & Arcadians (Ἀρκάδες) 27; 200, 4-5; 218, 5

Archaism 116, 3

Archery (incl. bows (τόξα) & arrows (ἰοί) (ὀϊστοί) 51, 2; 99; 117; 169; 170; 178; 195; 199 & 1; 200

Architectonics, organization, structure 4; 16; 28 & 3; 36; 37f.; 40, 1; 44; 60; 63, 2; 85f.; 87f.; 91; 98; 102; 106-109 incl. 109, 1; 110-120 incl. 115, 3 & 119, 4 & 120, 2-3; 122; 131f.; 150 & 1; 168 & 4; 177; 182, 1; 184-187 incl. 185, 1 & 186, 2; 188, 3; 194, 3; 197f.; 199; 202, 1; 207; 209, 4; 212, 1; 213; 215f. incl. 215, 6 & 216, 4; 217; 219; 223; 226f.

Ardizzoni, A. 1, 4; 2 & 5; 55, 6; 80 & 3-4; 110, 2; 113, 3; 121, 1; 122 & 4; 151, 1; 157, 1; 197, 3; 228; 232 s.v. Levin, D. N.

Areïus (Ἀρήϊος) 26

Arene (Ἀρήνη) 51

Ares (Ἄρης) = Mars. See also under Ares' grove; Ares' plain; Aretias or Ares' isle. 158 & 7; 191; 192; 193; 209; 215 & 1

Ares' grove (ἄλσος Ἄρεος) 215, 1

Ares' plain (Ἀρήϊον πεδίον) 215

Arestor (Ἀρήστωρ) 19, 2; 26, 3; 30

Arete (Ἀρήτη) 34, 1

Aretias or Ares' isle (Ἀρητιάς) 105, 5; 167; 197; 198; 199; 200, 5; 201; 202; 203; 212; 213

Argo (Ἀργώ). See also under ship. 10; 13; 26, 2; 29; 37 & 1; 46; 57; 61; 64; 67; 68, 2; 69; 83; 105; 110; 111; 119, 6; 123; 134; 164, 3; 167; 169 & 3; 170; 172; 173; 178; 186, 2; 190, 191; 197, 2; 199, 2; 201; 242; 207; 209; 210; 212; 215; 220

Argolis (Ἀργολίς) 26

Argonauts (Argonauten) (Ἀργοναῦται) & Argonautic 16; 17; 21; 22; Ch. III passim; 37; 38; 39, 3; 40, 1-2; 44-46 incl. 44, 4 & 45, 1

& 46, 1; 47; 48; 49 & 2; 50; 51; 52; 53; 55 & 3; 58 & 1-2; 59; 61; 63 & 1 & 4; 64; 66; 67 & 4; 68 & 2; 69; 70; 71; 72 & 1; 75 & 3; 76; 77 & 2; 78 & 3-4; 79; 80; 81; 87; 88 & 3; 89; 90, 3; 91; 92 & 1; 93 & 1-4; 94 & 1; 95f.; 97; 98 & 3; 99 & 3; 100; 101; 103; 104; 105 & 5; 107; 108 & 3; 109; 110; 112 & 1-2; 115; 117; 119 & 6; 120 & 2; 121, 1; 123; 124; 125; 128 & 2; 131 & 3; 134 & 2; 137; 144; 145 & 1; 146 & 1; 147 & 5; 148; 150, 3; 151; 152; 153; 154; 155; 156 & 3; 157, 2-3 & 5; 158, 5; 160 & 3 & 5; 161; 162 & 4; 163; 164; 166 & 3 & 6; 167; 168 & 1; 170 & 3; 171; 172; 173; 174; 175; 176 & 1; 177; 178; 179 & 5; 180; 182 & 3-4; 183 & 3 & 6; 184; 185; 186; 187 & 4; 188, 3; 189 & 3; 190 & 2 & 4; 193; 194; 195; 196; 197 & 2; 198; 199; 200 & 5; 201 & 1; 202 & 1; 203; 205, 3; 207 & 1; 208f. incl. 209 & 1 & 3; 210; 211; 212f. incl. 213, 2; 214; 215; 216; 217; 219; 220, 1; 224

Argos (Ἄργος) & Argives (Ἀργεῖοι) 15, 3; 32; 35; 48, 2; 53, 2; 65; 69, 2

Argus I (Ἄργος) (son of Arestor) 19, 2; 26 & 3; 28, 2; 29f.; 37; 43; 44 & 3; 214, 1

Argus II (Ἄργος) (son of Phrixus) 19 & 2; 20 & 1-3; 21 & 2; 26, 3; 29f. incl. 30 & 1 & 4; 46, 3; 49, 2; 54; 58, 4; 63, 3; 122, 4; 138, 4; 168, 1; 202-211 incl. 202, 1-2 & 205, 3 & 207, 3 & 208, 2 & 209, 2 & 211, 4-5; 213, 2; 216; 218, 5; 223, 4

Argus (Ἄργος) (Odysseus' hound) 163, 2

Ariadne (Ἀριάδνη) 69, 2; 86, 1

Aristarchus 214, 2

Aristaeus (Ἀρισταῖος) 5, 1; 150, 1

Aristotle 53 & 5; 139, 2

Arm (βραχίων) 145

Armament, armor, arms, weapons (ὅπλα) (τεύχεα). See also under archery; shields; spears; swords. 46; 52; 55; 57; 59; 60 & 5; 61; 69; 89; 104; 145 & 5; 160; 200; 211; 215, 4

Armed clash, battle, combat, hostilities, open warfare, violent confrontation (μάχη) (pugna) (proelium). See also under enemy &c.; war &c. 78, 3; 87; 89; 93, 2; 94; 98; 99 & 3; 100; 101f.; 131 & 3; 133; 140 & 3; 141; 142 & 1-2; 144 & 2; 145 & 1-2; 146 & 1; 147, 5; 148; 160; 163

Army (στρατός) 210, 3

Arrivals or landings (incl. returns) 37; 43; 87; 88 & 3; 91; 93 & 1; 94; 101; 105, 5; 111; 164; 167; 169, 3; 170, 2; 182; 214; 215

Arrogance, boastfulness, haughtiness, presumption, pride (κόμπος) (ὕβρις) (ὑπερβασία) (ὑπερηνορέη) 15, 3; 16; 17; 49 & 2; 50f.; 53; 54; 60; 65, 1; 77, 3; 135 & 1; 139 & 2; 140, 1; 146 & 4; 153; 184, 2; 187; 210

Art, craftsmanship, expertise, knowledge, professionalism, skill (δαημοσύνη) (ἰδμοσύνη) (ἰδρείη) (τέχνη). See also under intellect &c.; special attributes &c. 36; 47 & 4; 55, 6; 114f. & 1-2; 125; 137; 140; 141 & 2; 148, 4; 149, 1; 166; 170 & 2-3; 190; 192; 193; 194; 195; 200; 211

Artaxerxes (Ἀρταξέρξης) 210, 3

Artemis (Ἄρτεμις) = Diana 39, 4; 117 & 1; 220; 226, 2

Artificial or man-made 99; 135

Ascalaphus (Ἀσκάλαφος) 32

Ascents or mountain climbs 87; 89; 90; 98; 107

Asceticism, austerity (austerità) 55, 6

Asia (Ἀσία) (Ἀσὶς αἶα) 48; 87, 4; 93, 4; 147; 157, 3; 189

Assassination, extirpation, killing, massacre, murder, slaughter, slaying (σφαγή, φόνος). See also under death &c.; rituals & sacrifices. 54 & 4; 57 & 2; 60 & 5; 61, 2; 64; 69, 2; 74f.; 77; 83, 1; 86, 1; 88, 1; 89; 92f.; 95f.; 99 & 3; 101; 102; 103; 116, 4; 117; 118, 1; 142; 143 & 4; 144, 2; 147; 164, 4; 183 & 4; 187; 189; 195; 199; 209; 210

Assemblies (ἀγοραί) & councils (βουλαί). See also under admonition &c. 44-46; 54f.; 63-68; 192, 1; 194

Asterion (Ἀστερίων) 25; 29

Asterius (Ἀστέριος) 27

Asterodeia (Ἀστερόδεια) (Καυκασίη νύμφη) 206

Astyanax (Ἀστυάναξ) 42

Atalanta (Ἀταλάντη) 26, 2; 68 & & 2; 72, 1

Athamas (Ἀθάμας). See also under Helle; Phrixus. 206; 222f.

Atheism, disregard for the gods, impiety, scepticism, scoffing. See also under arrogance &c. 15f. incl. 15, 3; 17; 18; 21; 50f. incl. 51, 2; 52 & 4; 54 & 2; 55; 56f.; 62 & 1; 76f.; 117, 5; 187, 4; 190; 204 & 1; 217, 2; 225

Athena (Ἀθηναίη) (Ἀθήνη) (Παλλάς) = Minerva 16; 22, 4; 44; 58; 61 & 1; 68; 69, 2; 87, 1; 88; 92; 98, 3; 155, 2; 156 & 2; 169 & 3; 170 & 1 & 3; 171; 172; 173; 174 & 4; 175, 1; 178 & 3; 179; 183; 186; 190, 1; 205, 1; 214, 1

Athens (Ἀθῆναι) & Athenians (Ἀθηναῖοι) 76, 2; 166, 4

Atlas (Ἄτλας) 87, 3

Attendant, handler, page, retainer, servant (δμώς) (θεράπων) (ὀπάων) (famulus). See also under handmaidens. 92; 95, 2; 117 & 3; 135 146; 147, 3

Attica (Ἀττική) 26 & 1

Augeas (Αὐγείης) 27; 30 & 4; 36, 2; 58 & 2

Auguries, foreshadowings, omens, oracles, portents, prophecies. See also under destiny &c.; seers & seercraft. 10, 2; 13 & 2-3; 14 & 2; 15f. incl. 16, 1-2; 18f.; 22 & 5; 36 & 3-4; 37; 40, 2; 48; 49, 2; 52; 53 & 6; 69, 2; 71; 81, 3; 86 & 1; 90; 92f. incl. 93, 1; 94; 95-97 incl. 96, 3; 98; 101; 104-107; 108; 112 & 2 & 4; 125; 134, 4; 140, 2; 147; 155 & 3; 156; 157; 158, 5; 159f. incl. 160, 3; 162; 166, 3 & 6; 167; 171; 173; 183, 6; 185; 186 & 3; 187, 1-2; 189 & 5; 190; 195f. incl. 195, 2; 197; 199; 201; 205; 207 & 1; 213 & 3 & 5; 215, 6; 224

Aulion (Αὔλιον ἄντρον) 161, 1; 194 & 4

Autolycus (Αὐτόλυκος). See also under Deïmachus & Deïmachidae 30, 1

Avenger (ἐπιτιμήτωρ) (almost an epithet of Zeus) 204

Averted eyes. See also under shame. 72-74 incl. 73, 1 & 74, 1; 75, 2; 85; 86, 1; 179 & 4

Awkward, clumsy (ungeschickt). See also under careless &c. 114 & 2; 118, 3

Axe (πέλεκυς) 100f.; 142, 3; 148, 4

Bacchants (Βάκχαι) (Θυιάδες) (Μαινάδες). See also under Dionysus &c 61 & 2

Bach, J. S. 6

Banquets, feasts, food-preparation, & meals generally. 37; 43; 2, 49; 90; 91; 92; 101 & 2; 108; 119; 121 & 1; 132; 148; 150; 156; 163; 184; 189; 198; 2, 202; 205, 1; 209

Barbarians (βάρβαροι) 27, 2; 143, 4; 184, 2

Barber, E. A. 110, 3-4; 228 s.v. Butler, H. E., Barber, E. A.

Cape Barrow (σκόπελον Κολώνης) 177

Basileus (Βασιλεύς) 103

Bassi, D. 3, 2; 228

Bastard, illegitimate (νόθος &c.) 77 & 2; 100 & 3; 212, 1

Bathe or cleanse 156; 166, 6; 198, 2; 209, 1

Beak (ῥύγχος) (rostrum) 213

Bear Mountain (Ἄρκτων ὄρος or Ἄρκτον ὄρος) 88, 2; 91; 108

Beauty, handsomeness (κάλλος) 39, 4; 70; 123; 127 & 2; 138; 156 & 2; 179

Bebryces (Βέβρυκες) 131; 133; 134; 135 & 1; 143, 4; 144 & 2; 145 & 1; 146f. incl. 147, 5; 148; 149; 157, 5; 160; 163; 180, 3; 183 & 4; 184, 2; 185 & 4; 187

Bechires (Βέχειρες) 159; 212

Bed or couch (εὐνή) (κλίνη) (λέκτρον) (λέχος) (χαμεύνη) 101; 132f.; 190, 2

Bedfellow, bride, spouse, wife (ἄκοιτις) (δάμαρ) (uxor). See also under marriage &c. 94 & 3; 95 & 1; 100 & 3; 198, 2; 207; 225

Bees (μέλισσαι) 80 & 3; 147 & 1

Behest or order (ἐφημοσύνη) Ch. II passim; 122, 4
Belt or girdle (ζωνή) (ζωστήρ) 187 & 3; 198, 1; 200, 3
Benefaction, good deed, service (εὐεργεσία). See also under advantage &c. 17f.; 100, 2; 105, 5; 166; 178; 183 & 4; 184; 187
Benevolence, kindly concern (εὐμένεια) 16; 17 & 3; 208
Bieber, M. 65, 2; 228
Bier or pyre (πυρά) (rogus) 104
Bignone, E. 5, 3; 228
Birds (οἰωνοί) (ὄρνιθες). See also under crow; dove; eagle; hawk; kingfisher. 54, 2; 101 & 2; 104-107 incl. 105, 1-3 & 5; 158 & 6; 163, 3; 164; 167; 168, 4; 171; 186, 3; 195 & 2; 196 & 2 & 5; 198f. incl. 199, 1; 200 & 5; 201; 212f.; 220
Bistonian (Βιστόνιος). See also under Thrace & Thracians. 181, 1
Bithynia or Thynia ((Βι)θυνία) & Bithynians or Thynians ((Βι-)θυνοί). See also under Thynias. 59, 2; 90, 3; 157 & 3; 167; 170, 2; 177; 179; 187; 222
Cape Black (Μέλαινα ἄκρη) 157; 177; 222
Black Sea or Euxine (Εὔξεινος πόντος) 157, 3; 159; 161; 171; 177; 186; 198; 212; 224; 225
Blind (τυφλός) (caecus) 102, 1; 150; 152 & 1; 153 & 1; 155 & 2; 163; 167, 1; 204, 3
Blond(e) (ξανθός) (flauus) 104; 107
Blows or punches (πληγαί) (τυπαί) 141-143 incl. 141, 3 & 142, 3-4 & 143, 1-2
Blumberg, K. W. 6, 2; 30, 5; 35, 3; 36, 2; 114, 2; 117, 2; 121, 1; 125, 1; 126, 4; 143, 4; 145, 1; 146, 1; 152, 1; 153 & 2; 155, 3; 157, 2; 158, 2; 159f. incl. 159, 4 & 160, 1; 162, 1; 166, 6; 174, 2; 177 & 5; 178, 2 & 5; 182, 1; 197, 3; 202, 1; 215, 1; 228
Blumenthal, A. von 116, 4; 228
Bluntness, frankness. See also under directly &c. 78; 79 & 1; 151, 6
Boar (ὗς) (σῦς) 52; 57; 189
Body (δέμας) (σῶμα) or corpse (νεκρός) (νέκυς) 101 & 1-2; 104; 136 & 3; 137; 166, 6; 199, 1; 210
Boeotia (Βοιωτία) & Boeotians (Βοιωτοί) 26; 31, 1; 226, 3
Billow, wave (κλύδων) (κῦμα) 141 & 2; 169; 170 & 2; 179
Bog, lake, marsh, swamp (ἕλος) (λίμνη). See also under Serbonian Bog; Stymphalian Lake. 210 & 3; 216
Boldness, rashness, temerity (θράσος) (θρασύτης). See also under arrogance &c. 53; 77 & 3
Booty, spoil (ἕλωρ) (κύρμα) 101 & 1-2; 102; 103; 127
Boreas (Βορέης) (= Aquilo) & Boreas' sons (βορέαο υἷες) (Βορήιοι υἷες). See also under Calais; Zetes. 30; 36, 3; 103 & 3; 105, 5; 153 & 1; 154; 160, 3; 163; 164 & 4; 165; 166, 3
Bosporus (Βόσπορος) 157, 3; 172; 197f.; 222
Bowra, C. M. 57, 4; 228
Boxing (πυγμαχία) & boxers (πυκταί). See also under fists. 46; 55, 6; Ch. VIII passim; 187
Brawn, force, muscle-power, strength, violence (βία) (ἰσχύς) (μῦς) (fortitudo) (musculus) (uis) 35; 45; 47 & 4; 51; 52; 55, 6; 60, 1; 68f.; 77; 78; 109; 121, 1; 124-126 incl. 125, 2; 128; 134; 135; 137; 138; 140; 145; 148f. incl. 148, 4 & 149, 1; 151, 6; 156; 166, 6; 170; 191; 200; 210; 211 & 4; 215; 216
Brevity 107; 213; 223; 224
Bridegroom (νυμφίος) 95, 1; 102
Brigands (Diebe) (λῃσταί) (ληιστῆρες). See also under predators. 127 & 1
Brightness, clarity, light (clarté, lumière) (φάος) (φῶς) 38f. incl. 38, 2-3 & 39, 1-2; 40; 70; 93, 1; 137; 138; 153; 201 & 2; 216, 4
Brimo (Βριμώ) or Hecate (Ἑκάτη) 179, 1
Brothels (πορνεῖα) 79; 80
Brunck, R. F. P. 205, 4; 228
Brunner, T. F. 142, 1; 228
Brushfire (πῦρ ἐνὶ θάμνοις) 89; 101
Brutal, savage, wild (ἄγριος) (saeuus) 59; 79; 84; 85; 91; 127; 154

Builders (τέκτονες) 201
Bulls or cattle or heifers or oxen (βόες) (πόρτιες) (ταυροί) 91; 117 & 5; 118, 1; 119, 4; 124; 142 & 1 & 3; 148 & 4; 170, 1; 198; 209
Bullhides & lionskins 44 & 2-3; 58; 68
Burr, V. 27, 2; 228
Butes (Βούτης) 26
Butler, H. E. 110, 3-4; 228 s.v. Butler, H. E., Barber, E. A.
Buttrey, T. V. 122, 5; 228
Byblis (Βύβλις) 90, 2
Byzeres (Βύζηρες) 150; 212

Caeneus (Καινεύς) 33 & 2
Cahen, E. 229 s.v. Couat, A.
Calaïs (Κάλαϊς). See also under Boreas &c. 14 & 3; 28; 30; 34; 35; 36 & 3; 76, 4; 103 & 3; 105, 5; 151; 153 & 1; 154; 155; 156 & 1; 160, 3; 163; 164 & 4; 165; 166, 3
River Callichorus (Καλλιχόροιο ῥοαί) 161, 1; 194
Callimachus 4 & 3; 18, 2; 32, 2; 68, 1; 72, 3 (fr. 80, 10 Pf.); 100, 1 (*H* 3, 107-109); 113 & 4; 114, 2; 116, 3; 121, 1; 122, 5; 155, 2 (*H* 5, 103); 166, 5; 183, 6 (fr. 80, 19 Pf.); 187, 4; 211, 1 (fr. 75, 12 Pf.)
Calliope (Καλλιόπη) 30
River Calpes (Κάλπης) 177; 222
Camilla 61
Camping 120; 121
Cane or staff (βάκτρον) 65 & 2; 151
Canethus (Κάνηθος) 28, 2
Canthus (Κάνθος) 25 & 2; 28, 2; 36 & 2-3; 120, 2; 187 & 1; 195 & 3
Cappadocia (Καππαδοκία) & Cappadocians (Καππάδοκες) 30, 1
Carambis (Κάραμβις) 152 & 4; 153; 154; 158, 1; 161, 2
Cape Carambis (Καραμβὶς ἄκρη) 158 & 1; 161 & 2
Careless, lax, negligent. See also under awkward &c. 85, 1; 115 & 2; 138, 2; 170, 3
Caria (Καρία) & Carians (Κᾶρες) 27, 2
Carspecken, J. F. 2, 6; 3, 1; 28 & 3; 39, 4; 40, 1; 44, 4; 55, 6; 57, 4; 113, 2; 114, 2; 121, 1; 125, 2; 228
Carthage (Καρχηδών) (Carthago) 83; 84; 85, 1
Mount Casius 210, 3
Cassandra (Κασ(σ)άνδρα) 139, 3
Castor (Κάστωρ). See also under Dioscuri. 27; 30; 34; 54 & 3-4; 131, 2-3; 133; 142 & 2; 144 & 1; 145; 189
Catalogues & lists (κατάλογοι) 1 & 6; 12, 4; 15, 3; 58; Ch. III passim; 37; 48; 63, 2; 87; 89; 91; 94, 4; 97; 98, 1; 102f.; 105, 5; 107; 117 & 3; 120, 2; 128 & 2; 131, 3; 155, 3; 157f. incl. 157, 2; 159; 160 & 3 & 5; 161; 177 & 3; 185f.; 187, 1; 188, 3; 189, 1; 191; 193; 194 & 4; 196, 5; 197 & 3; 200, 4; 204; 212, 1; 219; 222; 224
Catastrophe or diaster (καταστροφή) (συμφορά) 91; 124; 147; 175; 189; 198
Catullus 122 & 2
Caucasus (Καύκασος ὄρος) & Caucasian (Καυκάσιος) 160; 206; 210; 212; 213
Cave (ἄντρον) (κευθμών) (σπέος) 161, 1; 166 & 4; 194 & 4; 224 & 3
Cazzaniga, I. 67, 3; 228
River Celadon (Κελάδων) 100, 1
Celibacy 198, 2
Centaurs (Κένταυροι) 33, 2; 128, 2; 212, 1
Central Greece. See also under Greece & Greeks. 24 & 3; 34
Cepheus (Κηφεύς) 27; 200, 4
Cervantes Saavedra, M. de 55
Cerunius (Κερύνειος πάγος) 100, 1
Chalcidice (Χαλκιδική) 59
Chalciope (Χαλκιόπη) 22; 30, 4; 82f. incl. 83, 2; 122, 4; 206f.
Challenge (πρόκλησις) 133; 136; 171
Chalybes (Χάλυβες) 112, 4; 158 & 5; 160, 3; 187, 2; 198 & 2
Champion (ἀριστεύς) 102; 174
Chaos (Χάος) 217
Charm, enchantment, magic, sorcery, spell (θέλκτρον) (κηληθμός) 55; 206; 213, 3; 219 & 1; 220f.
Chariclo (Χαρικλώ) 155, 2
Chaste, girlish, maidenly, virginal (ἀδμής) (κόρειος) (παρθενικός) 41; 42; 43; 54, 3; Ch. V passim; 90, 2; 117 & 1; 127 & 2; 160, 207; 212, 1

Chest (θώραξ) (στέρνον) 145
Chest (λάρναξ) 60, 3
Chiasmus (χιασμός). 43; 98, 2; 119; 120, 2
Chickens, hens, roosters 119, 6
Chidings, rebukes, reproof (ὄνειδος) 42; 43, 2; 50; 55 & 1
Childish, helpless, ineffectual, inept, vulnerable, weak (ἀμήχανος = also difficult or impossible, q.v.) (νηπίαχος) (νήπιος). See also under abortive &c. 19 & 4; 40 & 2; 42; 49 & 2; 50; 51; 61 & 3; 71 & 2; 84 & 3; 103 & 1; 117; 119, 6; 124f.; 127; 137; 138; 147 & 3; 149, 1; 151; 162 & 4; 171 & 2; 173; 176 & 2; 179 & 3; 190; 209 & 2
Childless (ἄπαις) (ἀκήρατος) 94 & 3
Chiron (Χείρων) (Φιλλυρίδης) 58; 212, 1
Chloris (Χλῶρις) 33
Choeroboscus 144, 3
Saint Christopher 18, 2
Chromius (Χρομίος) 33 & 4
Cinaetho 113, 1
Circaean plain (πεδίον Κιρκαῖον) 159, 3
Circe (Κίρκη Αἰαίη) 30, 4; 34, 1; 49, 2; 156, 3; 159, 3; 160; 206 & 3; 218, 5
Cius (Κίος) 112, 4; 113; 115; 119 & 3; 187, 2
River Cius (Κίος) 109; 111; 124
Civilized, courteous, gentle(manly), polite, urbane (ἀστεῖος &c.) (comis) (urbanus) 66; 75; 79; 84; 85; 91; 134; 138; 143, 4; 148, 4; 153; 184, 2
Clarus (Κλάρος) 39
Clausing, A. 6, 2; 40, 1; 228
Cleite (Κλείτη) 89; 90; 94 & 4; 100, 3
Cleopatra (Κλεοπάτρα) (Phineus' first wife) 152; 153; 154
Cliché 80, 4; 82, 2
Cloaks (δίπλακες) (πέπλοι) 43; 44 & 3; 68f. incl. 68, 3 & 69, 2-3; 137, 2; 219, 1; 220 & 2
Clond (νέφος) 38; 70; 137; 169
Club, cudgel (ῥόπαλον) 44 & 2; 58; 148; 200, 3
Clytius (Κλυτίος) 25 & 4; 199 & 1
Clytoneüs (Κλυτόνηος) 191 & 3
Cobet, C. G. 147, 3; 228
Colchis (Κολχίς) (Κόλχων αἶα) & Colchians (Κόλχοι) 10; 13; 14; 16; 19; 20, 2; 21; 22; 26, 3; 32; 36 & 4; 45, 1; 54 & 3; 58; 73; 83; 105, 5; 138, 4; 155; 156 & 3; 157 & 3; 159 & 3; 162; 186; 188, 3; 195, 3; 196; 198; 202 & 1; 203; 205; 207; 210; 216
Collaboration, coöperation, interdependence, partnership, teamwork 44 & 3-4; 56-58 incl. 58, 1; 84; 112, 1; 127f.; 131; 149; 168 & 4; 180; 191
Colonies (ἀποικίαι) & colonists (ἀποικοί) 92; 99, 3; 226 & 3
Colossus (κολοσσός) 135
Comparative chronology 12; 32; 114, 1-2; 119, 6; 131 & 1; 143, 4; 144, 2; 145 & 3; 180; 211, 1
Competition, contests, rivalry 87, 1; 109 & 2; 111 & 3; 124; 125, 2; 140; 190-194; 213, 3
Complexity & many-sidedness 56; 115 & 3; 120, 2
Concealment, deception, dissimilation, fakery, falsehood, fiction, lies, misstatements, self-deception (ψεῦδος &c.) 20, 2; Ch. V passim; 95 &; 2; 96; 144; 174; 192; 204 & 3; 209, 3
Concentration 74 & 1; 126; 183, 3
Concentric (récurrent) (ringförmig) See also under architectonics &c.; symmetry. 98, 2; 111, 1; 120 & 2; 122; 123; 124; 126, 3
Concubines or paramours (παλλακαί) 76; 77
Confidant(e) 83; 175
Confidence (θάρσος) (πίστις) 167; 172; 173
Conflation 107; 163, 3; 204f.
Conflict 51; 54, 3; 74; 81; 82f. incl. 83, 1; 85; 88, 2; 93, 2; 97; 105, 5; 116 & 3; 117 & 1; 153, 1; 154; 213, 4
Confusion 73, 4; 154; 166, 4
Conscious or deliberate (bewußt) (ἑκών) 63, 2; 103; 119; 139, 1; 154; 162, 6; 168, 3; 170f.; 175; 200, 1; 213; 215, 1
Contrast, dichotomy, distinction, foil 38; 39 & 2; 44; 46f. incl. 47, 4; 48; 55, 6; 87, 1; 93, 1; 121, 1;

124; 126 & 3-4; 133 & 2; 134; 135, 3; 137 & 3; 141, 3; 143, 4; 146 & 3; 148, 4; 155, 2; 156, 2; 167; 182, 3; 197, 3; 202, 1; 203, 1; 204; 211; 213, 5
Contrivance, scheme, stratagem, trick (δόλος) (μηχάνημα) 117, 5; 139, 1; 140; 141; 149; 175; 187 & 3-4; 190, 4; 199f. incl. 200, 1 & 5; 201; 203; 207
Controversies 37; 110f.; 114 & 1-2; 119, 6; 131; 153
Copley, F. O. 122, 5; 229
Coppola, G. 4, 3; 229
Copulation, dalliance, liaisons, mating, procreation, repopulation, sexual intimacies. See also under genealogy &c.; love 46, 1; 55, 1; 63 & 1; 74, 2; 78f. incl. 78, 4; 79, 1 80; 81; 82 & 1; 83, 2 & 4
Corbato, C. 114, 2; 229
Corinth (Κόρινθος) & Corinthians (Κορίνθιοι) 27, 3; 76, 2; 86, 1
Coronus (Κόρωνος) 25; 29; 31; 33, 2
Correction (incl. Korrektur-Theorie) 114 & 1-2; 116, 4; 128; 143, 4; 145, 5; 170, 3; 182f.
Cosmogony, cosmology, theogony. See also under genealogy &c. 217 & 3; 218; 219
Couat, A. 57, 4; 113, 3-4; 229
Courage, daring, heroism, manliness, prowess, valor (ἀγηνορία) (ἀλκή) (ἀνδρεία) (τόλμα) See also nnder boldness &c. 51; 53; 55, 5-6; 57; 74f.; 102; 116, 3; 125, 2; 128; 138; 144; 148; 149; 162, 6; 176
Covi, M. C. 85, 1; 229
Cowardice (ἀνάλκεια) (δειλία) 50; 144; 148
Crag, hill, mountain, rock (κολώνη) (ὄρος) (πέτρα) (σκόπελος) (σκοπιά) (collis) (cnlmen) (mons) (scopulus). See also under sacred rock; Symplegades. 90, 2; 99 & 3; 135; 141, 2; 144; 169; 170 & 2; 171 & 1; 172; 173; 213; 222 & 3
Crees, J. H. E. 1, 4; 4, 1; 6, 2; 229 s.v. Crees, J. H. E., Wordsworth, J. C.
Creon (Κρέων) (King of Thebes) 101, 2
Creon (Κρέων) (King of Corinth) 84, 6
Creon's daughter (sc. daughter of the immediately foregoing) 84, 6
Crete (Κρήτη) & Cretans (Κρῆτες) 91; 206
Cretheus (Κρηθεύς) 207; 223
Crime, infraction, injustice, malefaction, misdeed, worngdoing (ἀδίκημα) (ἀδικία) (facinus) (flagitium) (scelus). See also under error. 60; 152; 153; 154; 155; 166 & 5
Croiset, A. & M. 57, 4; 229
Cronos (Κρόνος) = Saturn 212, 1
Crow (κόραξ) (κορώνη). See also nnder birds. 105, 5; 196 & 5
Crump, M. M. 113, 3; 229
Culpability, fault, guilt (Schuld) (αἰτία) (culpa) 74, 2; 83, 1; 144, 1; 154
Cult-titles &/or epithets 39, 1-2; 49, 2; 51, 1; 59; 85, 1; 88, 3; 94, 3 & 5; 98, 3; 132, 3; 178, 1; 191, 4; 203; 205 & 5; 208, 1; 220 & 1; 226 & 2
Cunliffe, R. J. 41, 1; 164, 1; 229
Cunningham, M. P. 122, 5; 229
Curved or bent (γναμπτός) (καμπύλος) 169; 170
Custom or law (θέμις) (θεσμός) (νόμος) 102; 134 & 1 & 3; 139, 1; 148; 175
Cyclopes (Κύκλωπες). See also under Polyphemus (son of Poseidon). 15, 3; 51, 2; 92, 2; 117, 5; 131; 203f.; 217, 4
Cygnns (Κύκνος 142, 1
Cylinder (κύλινδρος) 169; 170
Cypress (κυπάρισσος) 133
Cyrene (Κυρήνη) (city or eponymous nymph) & Cyrenians (Κυρηναῖοι). See also under Callimachus. 32 & 2; 35, 2; 113, 4
Cytissorus (Κυτίσσωρος). See also under Phrixus' sons. 202; 206
Cyzicus (Κύζικος) (Αἰνήϊος υἱός) 57, 2; 88; 89; 90 & 1; 91; 94 & 3; 95; 96; 97; 99, 3; 100, 3; 101; 104; 155 & 1; 160; 183; 185 & 3; 186, 3
Cyzicus (Κύζικος) (city & island). See also under Dolionia &c. 90 & 1; 184, 2

Dactyls (Δάκτυλοι) 91
Damascius 218
Damiata 210, 3
Damsté, O. 80, 3; 84, 4; 229
Danaans (Δαναοί). See also under Greece & Greeks. 47, 1
Danaë (Δανάη) 60, 3
Danaïds (Δαναΐδες). See also under Hypermnestra. 60; 74
Dance (μολπή) (χορός) 91; 104; 180; 181 & 1
Danger, menace, risk, threat (ἀπειλή) (κίνδυνος) 50; 63, 4; 93 & 2; 133; 141 & 2; 170; 172; 183; 198; 226
Daphne (Δάφνη) 163, 2
Darkness, night, shade, shadow (δνόφος) (κνέφας) (νύξ) (σκιά) (σκότος) 93 & 1 & 3; 102; 132; 137, 2; 138; 150,3; 216 & 4; 219
Dascylus (Δάσκυλος) (father of Lycus) 187; 188, 1-2; 225 & 2
Dascylus (Δάσκυλος) (son of Lycus) 30, 1; 188 & 2-3; 189; 225, 2
Daunus 142, 1
Death, decease, demise (θάνατος). See also under assassination &c. 48; 63, 2; 66; 76 & 2; 82; 84 & 6; 95; 101; 102 & 3; 112, 4; 120, 2; 143 & 4; 144; 146; 152, 1; 158, 5; 167, 1; 187 & 1-2; 189f. incl. 190, 2; 195, 3; 203; 209 & 4; 210
Debarkation (ἔκβασις) 89; 124; 132
Debarker (Ἐκβάσιος) (epithet of Apollo) 88 & 3; 132 & 3
Decoration or display 112; 113, 2; 213; 220 & 2
Deer (ἔλαφοι) 163 & 2
Deïleon (Δειλέων). See also under Deïmachus & Deïmachidae. 30, 1
Deï(l)ochus 87,2; 93, 2; 99, 3
Deïmachus (Δείμαχος Τρικκαῖος) & Deïmachidae. See also under Autolycus; Deïleon; Phlogius. 30, 1; 35, 4; 197 & 2; 198, 1; 209, 1
Deïpylus (Δεΐπυλος) (son of Jason & Hypsipyle) 75, 3; 82 & 1
Delage, E. 3, 3; 28, 4; 31, 1; 87, 4; 97, 2; 113, 1; 157, 3; 177, 3; 184, 2; 229
Delays or postponements (ἀναβολαί) (morae) 90 & 3; 105; 124; 162
Delos (Δῆλος) 39
De Marco, V. 10,1; 229
Democracy & suffrage 45; 46; 192 & 1
Demoralized, despondent, discouraged, disorganized, distressed, downcast, panicked, unnerved. 40; 49; 124; 126 & 4; 162; 173; 176; 179; 203; 209, 3; 211
Departures or exits or dispersals 37; 87 & 3; 88, 3; 89; 93, 3; 101; 105 & 5; 108; 111; 112, 1; 124; 137; 144; 164 & 2; 169, 3; 178; 180; 182, 4; 186, 2; 188, 3; 197; 201; 202; 209, 3; 212
Description (Schilderung) (ἔκφρασις) 68f. incl. 69, 3; 87; 94, 3; 125 & 1; 133; 135; 140 & 3; 141; 146, 1; 213, 2; 220; 224
Design, intention, plan, purpose, will (βουλή &c.). 28, 2; 43; 46 & 1; 55; 64f.; 112 & 2; 124; 149; 150 & 3; 153f.; 167; 174; 183; 203 & 2; 214, 1
Desire, lust, yearning (ἐπιθυμία) (ἵμερος) (πόθος). See also under love. 70; 78 & 6; 119; 125; 127; 128
Destiny or doom or fate (μοῖρα) (μόρος) (πότμος) (fatum). See also under auguries &c. 15; 28, 2; 32; 36 & 3; 41; 45, 1; 47f.; 51; 52; 53 & 6; 54; 83; 89; 96; 99, 3; 101; 102 & 2; 133; 137; 147, 3; 150, 3; 157, 5; 160, 3; 171; 172 & 2; 189f. incl. 190, 2; 195, 3; 206, 1; 207, 1; 213; 225
Destruction or moral purblindness or ruin (ἄτη) 76; 102; 148; 153; 173
Deubner, L. 68, 1; 229
Deucalion (Δευκαλίων) 205, 5; 213, 3; 218, 5
Deviation or divergence 116; 127; 143, 2; 145, 2; 153; 218 & 5
Dezenz. See also under Eschewal &c. 79, 3
Dido (Διδών) 1; 39, 4; 69, 2; 71 & 2; 82; 83 & 1-2; 84 & 5; 85 & 1; 184
Difficult or impossible or irreversable or irrevocable 103 & 1; 121; 144; 210; 211; 213; 214
Diffidence (ἀπιστία). See also under anxiety &c. 162 & 2 & 5
Dignified & solemn (σεμνός) 114, 2; 175, 2

Digression 59, 2; 63, 2; 113, 2; 140; 150, 1; 159; 166
Diked Haven (Χυτὸς Λιμήν) 89; 98f. incl. 99, 3
Din, noise, sound (ψόφος) 39; 91; 104; 137; 200f. incl. 201, 2
Mount Dindymus (Δίνδυμον ὄρος) 89; 90f.; 98f.; 107
Diodorus 26, 2; 68, 2; 153; 210, 3
Diomedes (Διομήδης) 32, 4; 65; 163, 2
Dionysus (Διόνυσος) (Βάκχος) & Dionysiac. See also under Bacchants. 69, 2; 133, 2; 194, 4
Dioscuri (Διὸς κοῦροι). See also under Castor; Polydeuces; Tyndareos & Tyndarids. 54, 3-4; 58; 131 & 2; 133; 134; 137, 2; 138 & 2; 148, 1; 189
Diplomacy, fawning, honeyed words, negotiation, persuasion, wheedling (αἱμυλία) (ἔπεα μειλίχια) (πειθώ) 21; 44; 46 & 3; 55; 63 & 3; 64; 65, 1; 66f.; 68f.; 71 & 2; 72f.; 94 & 2; 138 & 4; 139 & 4; 203f.; 211 & 5; 215 & 3-4; 216
Dipsacus (Δίψακός) 222 & 4
Directly or flatly or openly. See also under bluntness, &c. 141; 143; 147; 148; 183; 200; 204; 223; 225
Disadvantage 140, 1; 147; 188, 1
Disease (νόσος) 189
Diversity or variety (Abwechslung) (ποικιλία) 10, 1; 35f. incl. 35, 3 & 36, 2; 37; 67f. incl. 68, 1; 106, 3; 147, 3; 157 & 1; 197; 215, 1
Divine intervention. See also under aid &c. Ch. II passim; 47; 52, 4; 55; 56; 58 & 5; 76f.; 81 & 1; 82; 83 & 4; 91; 100 & 1; 105 & 1 & 5; 112 & 2; 117 & 1; 139, 1; 148; 153, 1; 170 & 3; 173; 174; 175, 1;. 178 & 3; 180 & 2 & 4; 182f. incl. 182, 3; 186; 187 & 4; 190 & 1 & 3; 192; 194 & 2; 197, 2; 198; 203 & 1; 204, 2-3; 205; 207 & 4; 208 & 3; 209; 214, 1
Division of labor. See also under pairing &c.; simultaneity. 116f.; 118; 119; 120f.; 132, 3; 134; 180 & 3
Doeantian plain (Δοίαντος πεδίον) 158
Dolionia (Δολιονία) & Doliones (Δολίονες) 57, 2; 59, 2; Ch. VI passim; 111; 116, 3 & 5; 124, 2; 145 & 1; 147, 5; 164; 182, 4; 183; 184 & 1; 185 & 3; 186 & 3
Dolon (Δόλων) 163, 2
Dolopes (Δόλοπες) 99, 3
Don Quixote. See also under Cervantes Saavedra, M. de. 44,4; 55
Doris (Δωρίς) & Dorians (Δωριεῖς) 27, 2; 116, 4
Dottin, G. 99, 3; 152, 5; 229
Doves (πέλειαι) (πελειάδες). See also under birds. 89; 105, 5; 170f. incl. 170, 4; 172; 191 & 5; 196 & 4
Dovetailed, interconnected, interlocking, intertwined, linked, meshed. See also under architectonics &c. 112f.; 114f.; 119; 120, 2; 123; 168 & 4; 174; 183, 6; 215, 6
Dragon or serpent (δράκων) (ὄφις). See also under Dragon's teeth. 198; 210; 214f. incl. 215, 1
Dragon's teeth 88, 1
Drama(tic) 82; 84; 133; 141, 1; 151 & 5; 161; 174, 4; 189; 202, 1; 221, 1
Dream (ἐνύπνιον) (ὄναρ) (ὄνειρος) 122, 4
Drögemüller, H. P. 136, 2; 137, 2; 229
Drowned 206, 1; 209, 4
Dryads & hamadryads (δρυάδες) (ἁμαδρυάδες). See also under nymphs. 166, 5
Dryas (Δρύας) 33
Dryopes (Δρύοπες) 117 & 5
Duckworth, G. E. 14, 2; 16, 1; 22 & 3; 69, 2; 86, 1; 207, 1; 229
Dumezil, G. 60, 1; 62, 2; 63, 1; 229
Dunbar, H. 69, 5; 94, 3; 229
Dutiful & responsible &c. (pius). See also under piety & religion. 53, 6; 85, 1
Duty or obligation. See also behest &c. 75, 3; 83; 85, 1

Eagle (αἰετός). See also under birds. 105, 5; 150, 3; 212f.
Ear (οὖς) 143; 213; 216; 219
Earth (Γαῖα) 136; 137; 210; 215; 217 & 3

Earthborn, giants (Γαιηγενὴς λαός) (Γηγενέες) (Γίγαντες) 88 & 1; 89; 93 & 2; 98-101 incl. 99, 3; 146, 1; 198
Ebeling, H. 41, 1; 94, 5; 164, 1; 229
Echecles (Ἐχεκλέης) 32, 4
Echinades or Plotae or Strophades (Ἐχινάδες) (Πλῶται νῆσοι) (Στροφάδες) 165 & 1-2
Echion (Ἐχίων) 25; 30; 34; 35; 63, 2
Education, instruction, teaching (διδαχή) (παιδεία) (παίδευσις) 55, 6; 69; 116; 123 & 1; 139; 166; 195 & 2; 198; 201
Effigies or monuments or tombs 90 & 1; 91; 104; 220, 1
Egypt (Αἴγυπτος) & Egyptians (Αἰγύπτιοι) 218, 5
Eidyia (Εἰδυῖα) 207
Elderkin, G. W. 68, 1; 229
Electra (Ἠλέκτρα) (daughter of Atlas) 87, 3
Elis (Ἦλις) 27
Embarkation (ἔμβασις) 89; 90; 124
Embarker (Ἐμβάσιος) (epithet of Apollo) 88, 3
Embarrassments or frustrations. See also under abortive &c. 55; 84; 110; 112, 2; 115, 2; 125, 2; 126 & 4; 131, 3; 143, 3; 145, 2; 146
Empedocles 217 & 3; 218
Enk, P. J. 110, 3-4; 229
Enlistment or enrollment Ch. III passim; 123; 125; 128, 2; 188, 2; 189; 215; 217
Enormous, gigantic, huge, monstrous, prodigious (πέλωρ) (πελώριος) (ingens). See also under Amycus; Colossus; earthborn &c.; marvels &c. 135 & 4; 136; 139; 141, 2; 143 & 3; 169; 170
Entellus (Ἔντελλος) 132, 1
Eoïus (Ἑώϊος) (Ἠώϊος) (epithet of Apollo) 39, 2; 178 & 1; 180
Epeüs (Ἐπειός) 132, 1; 145, 3
Ephialtes (Ἐφιάλτης). See also under Aloeus; Otus. 51; 54 & 1
Epicharmus 143, 4
Epiphany (Göttererscheinung) (ἐπιφάνεια) 177; 178 & 5; 179; 180; 182, 1; 186
Epistrophus (Ἐπίστροφος) 31
Eponyms, homonyms, synonyms (ἐπώνυμοι) (ὁμώνυμοι) (συνώνυμοι) (φερώνυμοι). See also under aetiological & etymological lore. 30, 4; 90 & 1-2; 18 & 3; 107; 158, 1; 159, 3; 212, 1; 220, 1; 222 & 4; 224; 225 & 1
Epyllion (ἐπύλλιον) 11 & 3
Erato (Ἐρατώ) 207
Erginus (Ἐργῖνος) 27 & 1 & 3; 30; 36; 191; 193; 194
Eribotes (Ἐριβώτης) 25
Error (ἀλίτημα) (ἁμαρτία) (ἀμπλακία). See also under crime &c. 103 & 1; 158; 166, 5; 173; 176
Erudition 113 & 2 & 4; 218; 224f.; 227
Erymanthian (Ἐρυμάνθιος) 35 & 4
Erysichthon (Ἐρυσίχθων) 166, 5
Erytus (Ἔρυτος) 25; 30; 34 & 2; 35; 63, 2
Escape or flight (φυγή) (fuga). See also under fugitives or refugees. 144; 146f. incl. 147, 5; 171; 172; 175; 176; 200; 202f.; 205 & 5; 209; 216; 222; 223 & 1; 226
Eschewal, excision, exclusion, expurgation, omission, rejection, suppression 26, 2; 31-34 & nn.; 68, 2; 79; 112, 2; 116; 121, 1; 125 & 3; 133; 134; 141; 144, 2; 145, 5; 149, 1; 151 & 6; 153; 154; 157, 2; 158, 2-3 & 5; 160, 4; 161 & 1-2; 164, 4; 166, 6; 168, 3; 173; 177, 5; 179 & 5; 186; 194 & 4; 197 & 3; 198; 206; 213; 221; 222; 223, 1
Eteoneus (Ἐτεωνεύς) 92
Etesian (Ἐτήσιος). See also under storms; winds & climate. 5, 1; 59, 2; 90, 3
Ethics or morality (ἠθική) 51; 62, 2; 69; 115, 2; 117, 5; 135 & 2; 144 & 1; 166; 188 & 1
Ethiopians (Αἰθίοπες) 90, 3
Etruscans (Τυρσηνοί) 52, 4
Etymologica & lexica. See also under aetiological & etymological lore. 59, 1; 99; 117, 5; 142, 3; 148, 1; 159, 3; 212, 2; 225 & 3
Euboea (Εὔβοια) & Euboeans (Εὐβοιεῖς) 25 & 4; 28, 2; 93, 2
Eudemus 218
Euneüs (Εὔνηος) (son of Jason & Hypsipyle) 31 & 2; 75, 3; 82 & 1

Eunice (Εὐνείκα) 116
Euphemus (Εὔφημος) 27 & 1 & 3; 30; 34; 35, 2; 36; 171; 191 & 4-5; 194
Euripides 9f. (*Med.* 1-6) incl. 10, 1; 14, 1; 16, 4 (*Med.* 1362); 17, 1-2; 29 & 3 (*Alc.* 37; 82); 41, 3; 42, 1; 57, 4; 61 & 2 (*Bacch.* 138f.); 62; 76 & 2 (*Med.* 1073f. transl.); 78 (*Med.* 1073); 81f.; 84 & 3 & 6; 86, 1; 95 & 2; 117, 1; 122, 5; 139, 3 (*Hec.* 426f.); 175, 2; 176, 1; 200, 5
Euryalus (Εὐρύαλος) 32; 132, 1; 145, 3
Eurydamas (Εὐρυδάμας) 25
Eurypylus (Εὐρύπυλος) 32 & 2
Eurystheus (Εὐρυσθεύς) 28, 2; 35, 4
Eurytia (Εὐρυτία) 152, 4
Eurytion (Εὐρυτίων) 25
Eurytus (Εὔρυτος) 25, 4; 30; 31; 34, 1
Eusorus (Εὔσωρος) 94
Exadius (Ἐξάδιος) 33
Excellence or virtue (ἀρετή) (uirtus) 53; 173
Exception 119, 4; 182, 3; 186, 2; 207, 1
Excess or superabundance 125, 2; 150; 173
Excuse, pretext (πρόφασις) 117, 5; 164; 182
Expansion or increase (αὔξησις) 143, 3; 156 & 2; 173; 201, 3
Exhaustion, weariness (κάματος) 141, 3
Eyebrow (ὀφρύς) & eyelid (βλέφαρον) 145

Faerber, H. 3, 1; 44, 4; 79, 3; 114, 2; 116, 4; 118, 3; 128, 3; 229
Famine, hunger, starvation (ἀσιτία) (λιμός) (fames) 119; 126 & 5; 128 & 3; 165, 5
Farnell, L. R. 88, 3; 220, 1; 230
Fast, fleetfooted, quick, rapid, speedy (θοός) (ποδάρκης) (ποδωκής) (ταχύς) (ὠκύς) 36; 89; 101; 103; 164; 169; 172; 189; 191 & 4; 212 & 3; 213
Faust. See also under Goethe, J. W. von. 58
Fawn (νεβρός). See also under deer. 119
Female or feminine (θῆλυς) 104f. incl. 105, 1; 198
Ficoroni Cista. See also under Novius Plautius. 143
Finley, J. H. Jr. 160, 3; 230
Fir (ἐλάτη) or pine (πίτυς). See also under trees. 121; 124; 125; 126; 133
Fire or flame (πῦρ) (φλόξ) (flamma) (ignis) 104
Firesticks (πυρήϊα) 132f.
First among equals (primus inter pares) 44, 4; 46
Fish (ἰχθύς) 101; 220
Fist (πυγμή). See also under boxing & boxers. 46; 135; 140 & 1; 145 & 5
Fitch, E. 87, 2; 93, 2; 97, 2; 230
Flower (ἄνθος) 91; 108, 1; 133; 147; 225
Flying. See also under escape or flight. 105, 5; 107, 1; 150, 3; 165, 2; 169; 205 & 2; 213
Foot (ποῦς) 65; 151; 191
Forest (ὕλη) (silua) 121; 134; 144
Formulaic language. See also under imitation &c. 5; 12, 4; 15, 2; 42, 2-3; 69, 5; 70, 1; 73; 81, 1; 102, 4; 136 & 3; 145, 5; 156, 2; 161f. incl. 162, 1; 183 & 1; 191 & 4; 193 & 2; 199 & 2; 204f.; 209, 2
Foster-parent & foster-child. See also uuder stepmother (where the negative is emphasized rather). 116 & 4; 117f.; 126
Fountain or spring (κρήνη) (πηγή) 90 & 2; 91; 133; 134
Fountain-nymphs. See also under nymphs. 116, 5; 117; 127f.
Fränkel, H. 2 & 1 & 3-4; 3, 1; 4, 1; 22, 4-5; 38, 2; 40, 2; 44, 4; 46, 1; 52, 4; 55 & 6; 56 & 1 & 3; 57 & 1 & 5; 59, 1; 62 & 3; 67, 3-4; 80, 4; 102 & 1; 117, 5; 121, 1; 126, 5; 127, 1; 136, 2-3; 137 & 2; 138 & 3; 144, 3; 147, 5; 155, 2; 174, 1; 187, 4; 190, 4; 192, 1; 198, 3; 201 & 3; 205, 2 & 4-5; 208, 2; 215 & 1 & 6; 216; 230; 232 s.v. Levin, D. N. (bis)
Frazer, Sir J. G. 13, 2-3; 230

Friendship (ἀρθμός) (συμβίβασις) (φιλία) (φιλότης) (amicitia). See also under hospitality; love. 57; 93; 94; 134; 139; 163; 167; 183 & 6; 187; 188; 226
Frightful or terrible (δεινός) (φοβερός). See also under anxiety &c. 135; 140, 1; 210, 3; 213; 226
Fruit (καρπός) 91
Fugitives or refugees (φυγάδες) (φυγόντες). See also under escape or flight. 147; 204
Fugitives' patron (Φύξιος) (epithet of Zeus) 205 & 5
Fulfillment or bringing to completion (ἄνυσις). See also under auguries &c. 155, 3; 157f. incl. 157, 2; 160; 187, 2; 197; 201; 205
Funerals. See also under death &c. 42; 90; 104; 187
Furies (Ἐρινύες) 163, 3; 166, 4

Gadfly (οἶστρος) or goad (κέντρον) 124; 125
Galatea (Γαλάτεια) 131
Galingale (κύπειρον) 132
Gallavotti, C. 139, 2; 230
Game (ἄγρα) (θήρα). See also under animals &c.; hunting & huntsmen. 180 & 4; 183, 3
Garrulous or long-winded 162, 1; 196
Garson, R. W. 110 & 4; 111; 160, 5; 162, 6; 230
Genealogy & kinship (Abstammung) (γενεά) (γένος) (συγγένεια). See also under cosmogony &c. 26, 1; 27, 1; 28, 1-2; 29-34 & nn.; 35, 4; 36; 44; 54, 4; 63, 2; 65, 1; 77; 92; 94 & 4; 100 & 3; 105, 3; 106, 1; 131 & 3; 151; 152 & 3-4; 154; 164, 4; 179 & 5; 185 & 2; 191; 195, 2; 197; 202, 1; 204; 206f.; 208 & 2; 209; 210; 212, 1; 213, 3; 214 & 1; 215 & 2; 217; 222f. incl. 222, 5 & 223, 1-2
Genuine or legal or legitimate (γνήσιος &c.). See also under true &c. 62; 76; 77; 116, 4; 123 & 1; 207
Geography 3 & 3; 24-28 incl. 28, 4; 30; 31, 1; 32; 34; 35 & 4; 157-161 incl. 157, 2-3 & 158, 1 & 159, 3; 177 & 3-4; 182 & 2; 194, 4; 197f.; 222; 224
Gephyrus (Γέφυρος) 103
Germaneness, relevance. See also under architectonics. 119 & 4 & 6; 186; 198; 213, 3; 214; 222 & 5; 228
Gillies, M. M. 1, 4; 2 & 5; 18, 2-3; 57, 4; 122 & 4; 230
Glaucus (Γλαῦκος) 112 & 2; 148 & 3; 158, 5; 185; 186; 187, 2; 195
Goats (αἶγες) (τράγοι) 163 & 2
Goethe, J. W. von 57 (*Faust* 7373f.) & 5; 58
Golden Fleece (χρυσεῖον κῶας) 9; 10; 13; 14; 17; 18; 19; 20, 4; 21; 22; 23 & 1; 24; 28, 2; 32; 45; 47; 48; 55; 57; 58; 83; 85; 112, 2; 149; 166; 183 & 3; 186; 192; 198; 202 & 1; 203; 205; 207; 210; 211, 4; 213, 3; 214f.; 222; 223 & 3
Gow, A. S. F. 12, 2; 54, 4; 105, 2; 110, 3; 113, 4; 114, 1-2; 115, 2; 116 & 2 & 4; 117 & 2; 119, 6; 123, 3; 131, 2; 135 & 2; 136, 3; 139, 2; 140, 3; 141, 3; 143, 4; 145, 3; 230
Graces (Χάριτες) 69, 2; 127 & 2
Grain (σῖτος) 90
Grajew, F. 75, 3; 230
Grass (βοτάνη) (πόα) 91; 133
Greece (Ἑλλάς) & Greeks (Ἕλληνες) 19; 22; 24-28 incl. 27, 2-3; 44; 82; 93, 4; 143, 4; 148; 165; 184, 2; 202, 2; 205
Grief, lamentation, mourning, tears, weeping (γόοι) (δάκρυα) (θρῆνοι) (οἰμωγαί) (lacrimae) (luctus) 37; 40; 41f.; 48; 86; 90 & 2; 95 & 2; 104; 151; 167; 190, 2; 213
Groningen, B. A. van 133, 2; 230
Guarantee, oath, pledge, promise, swearing (ὅρκος) (πίστις) (ὑπόσχεσις) 55; 78, 3-4; 143; 151 & 4; 155; & 3; 158; 165; 166 & 3; 173; 177; 181; 215f.

Hadas, M. 44, 4; 49, 2; 57, 4; 113, 3; 114, 1-2; 231; 232 s.v. Körte, A.
Hades (Ἀιδης) (Ἀΐδης). See also under Hades' Cave. 42; 76, 2; 172

Händel, P. J. 10, 2-3; 13, 2; 35, 3-4; 79, 3; 120, 3; 125, 3; 170, 4; 231; 232 s.v. Körte, A.
Hagopian, D. 132, 1; 133, 2; 231
Hair (ἔθειρα) (κόμη) (πλοχμοί) (χαῖται) 65 & 3; 178 & 6
River Halys (Ἅλυς) 158; 161,2
Hammer, J. 57, 4; 232 s.v. Körte, A.
Hammers & hammerstrokes 141
Hand (χείρ). See also under left; right. 75 & 2; 145 & 5
Handmaidens (δμωαί). See also under attendant &c. 40; 41; 68, 2; 206, 1; 209, 3
Hapless or ill-starred (δυσάμμορος) (δύσμορος) (δύστηνος) (infelix). See also under destiny &c. 41 & 1-2; 42 & 1; 66 & 2; 85, 1; 93; 150; 158, 5; 160; 202; 206
Happiness, jubilance, rejoicing (γηθοσύνη) (εὐδαιμονία) (ὄλβος) 46; 48 & 1; 93, 1
Harbor or haven (λιμήν). See also under Diked Haven. 226
Hard-hearted, intrepid, reckless (νηλής) (σχέτλιος). See also under bold &c. 76 & 4; 117 & 5; 123 & 3; 125; 126
Hare (λαγῶς) 163, 2
Harmand, R. 141,1; 231
Harpies (Ἅρπυιαι) (Harpyiae) 105, 5; 150 & 3; 151; 153; 154; 155; 156 & 1; 163 & 3; 164 & 1-4; 165, 2; 166 & 3-4 & 6
Hasluck, F. W. 87, 4; 231
Hawks (κίρκοι). See also under birds. 89; 105, 5; 196 & 4
Head (κάρα) (κεφαλή) 142f.; 171
Heaven (οὐρανός) 201, 2; 217 & 3
Hecale (Ἑκάλη) 18, 2
Hector (Ἕκτωρ) 38; 42; 53, 6; 54, 2
Hecuba (Ἑκάβη) 139, 3
Heer, C. de 28, 3; 232 s.v. Lesky, A.
Heinze, R. 38, 3; 52, 4; 68, 1; 75, 3; 83, 1; 202, 1; 231
Helen (Ἑλένη) 69, 2
Helios (Ἥλιος). See also under sun. 20, 2; 22; 30 & 4; 152; 206
Hellanicus 59 (4 fr. 71c J) & 3
Helle (Ἕλλη) (Ἀθαμαντὶς κούρη). See also under Hellespont. 206; 209 & 4; 223, 1
Hellespont (Ἑλλήσποντος) (κούρης Ἀθαμαντίδος αἰπὰ ῥέεθρα) 206, 1
Helmet (κόρυς) 61, 1; 201
Helmsmanship, nautical art, navigation, pilotage (κυβέρνησις) (ναυτιλία) 28, 4; 36; 47; 55, 6; 141 & 2; 159; 170; 173; 187, 4; 189; 190; 191; 192 & 1; 193; 194 & 3; 202 & 2; 210; 211; 214, 1; 215; 216
Hémardinquer, M. 17, 3; 58, 5; 112, 2; 119, 6; 121, 1; 231
Henry, J. 52, 4; 231
Hephaestus (Ἥφαιστος) = Vulcan 78 & 6; 160
Hera (Ἥρα) (Ἥρη) = Juno 13, 3; 15 & 3; 16; 17 & 3; 18 & 3-4; 21; 22, 4; 40, 1; 58 & 5; 62, 1; 100 & 1-3; 105, 5; 112, 2; 170 & 1 & 3; 174 & 4; 182, 3; 190, 3; 192; 194; 204, 1
Heraclea Pontica (Ἡράκλεια) 184, 2; 189; 227
Heracles (Ἡρακλέης) (Ἡρακλῆς) = Hercules 14 & 3; 26; 28,2; 29; 30; 31; 34; 35 & 4; 36, 2; 44 & 2; 45 & 1-2; 46 & 1; 47 & 2-3; 55 & 1 & 6; 58 & 2; 79, 1; 83, 4; 89; 93, 3; 95 & 2; 99 & 3; 100 & 1 & 3; 103 & 3; 109; 110 & 2; 111f. incl. 112, 1-2; 113; 115f. incl. 115, 4; 117 & 3-5; 118f. incl. 118, 1-2 & 119, 6; 121 & 1-2; 123; 124-126 incl. 125, 2-3; 131; 133; 134; 136 & 1; 142, 1; 148f. incl. 148, 3-4 & 149, 1; 157, 3; 159; 160, 3; 168 & 3-4; 185; 186 & 4; 187 & 3; 191, 4; 195 & 1; 198 & 1; 200 & 2-5; 201; 213
Herald or messenger (ἄγγελος) (κῆρυξ) 68 & 2; 67; 68
Herding & herdsmen 60; 65, 2; 126-128 incl. 127, 1; 146; 170, 1
Hermes (Ἑρμείας) (Ἑρμῆς) = Mercury 30; 63, 2; 83 & 4; 205 & 5; 212
Hermogenes 225, 3
Herodian 74
Herodorus 78, 4
Herodotus 24; 60, 1; 62, 3 (III 113, 1); 197 & 1
Herwerden, H. van 40, 2; 231
Hesiod 24; 31, 2; 106, 1; 136, 3

(*OD* 129; *Sc.* 88); 164 (*Theog.* 267; 268f.) & 1 & 4; 212 & 2 (*Theog.* 521f.); 213 & 4; 217 (*Theog.* 116) & 4; 218 & 2 & 5
Hesperides (Ἑσπερίδες) 58
Hesychius 183, 1 (s.v. ἀκραῇ) & 6
Heumann, J. 114, 2; 116, 5; 231; 234 s.v. Rannow, M.
Cape Hill (σκόπελον Κολώνης(222 & 3
Hippolyte (Ἱππολύτη). See also under Amazons. 187 & 3; 198, 1; 200, 3
Hippolytus (Ἱππόλυτος) 17, 1-2; 62, 1
Hippotion (Ἱπποτίων) 103
Hoelzlin, J. 88, 2; 231
Homer 2, 6; 3, 1 & 4; 5f.; 6, 2; 10 (*Iliad* I 97; 189) & 2 (*Iliad* A 1; *Od.* α 1); 11 & 3; 12 & 4; 14, 2; 15, 3 (*Iliad* B 681); 20, 1; 24f. incl. 24, 1-3 & 25, 4 (*Iliad* B 596); 27, 2-3; 30, 4; 31 & 2; 32 & 1 & 4; 33 & 1 & 4 (*Od.* λ 285); 34, 1; 35; 38 & 2; 39 & 4; 41 (*Iliad* T 315 &c.; Π 7-11) & 1-2; 42 (*Iliad* X 482-486; Ω 725-728); 43, 2 (*Iliad* X 496f.); 47 (*Iliad* I 443) & 1 (*Iliad* A 258); 48 & 2; 51, 1-2 (*Od.* ι 277; *Iliad* I 559); 54, 2 (*Iliad* M 243); 59 (*Od.* θ 294) & 3; 64, 1; 65 (*Iliad* Ξ 107f.); 67; 68, 1; 69 & 5; 70, 1 (*Iliad* N 242; *Od.* ω 154; *Iliad* Z 401; A 747); 73, 4 (*Iliad* E 93); 75, 3; 80, 3; 81, 1-2 (*Od.* θ 462); 90, 3; 91; 92 (*Od.* α 170) & 2; 94 & 3-5; 101 (*Od.* γ 270f.; *Iliad* A 4f.) & 2 (*Iliad* A 5); 102 (*Iliad* Δ 170; *Od.* γ 269) & 2 & 4; 103 (*Iliad* Ξ 513-515; 520); 104 (*Iliad* ψ 13); 106; 113, 4; 116, 3-4; 117, 5 (*Od.* j 106ff.); 122, 5; 127, 1-2 (*Od.* ζ 237); 132, 1; 136 & 3; 137 (*Od.* λ 577); 138 & 2 & 6; 142, 4 (*Iliad* N 352); 143, 3; 144, 2; 145 (*Iliad* Π 323f.) & 1 & 3 & 5 (*Iliad* E 16 &c,; *Od.* χ 16); 147, 2; 152, 1; 156 (*Od.* ζ 230; ψ 157) & 2-3; 160; 162, 1 & 3 (*Iliad* P 695; *Od.* δ 704); 163, 2; 164, 1 & 3 (*Od.* υ 66; 77; κ 48); 165f.; 169; 170, 2; 174 & 2-5; 175 (*Iliad* B 73f.; 83 = 72) & 1 (*Iliad* B 75; 180); 176 (*Iliad* B 137f.; 140) & 3; 178 (*Iliad* A 529f.) & 5; 179 (*Iliad* N 18f.; A 199) & 1; 180, 2 & 4 (*Od.* ι 158); 182; 183 (*Od.* β 420f.) & 1 & 6 (*Iliad* H 302); 185; 187, 4 (*Od.* γ 28 &c.); 191, 3-4; 193, 2; 201, 2; 203, 5; 204 (*Od.* ι 269-271; 364; α 169; ω 297) & 3; 205 (*Od.* α 170 &c,; γ 71 &c.); 206, 3; 212, 3 (*Od.* λ 125); 214 (*Od.* ε 254; *Iliad* A 432-435); 218 & 5; 219 (*Od.* λ 333f.); 220 (*Iliad* Ξ 571f.) & 2; 221
Homeric hymns 10 (*HSel* 18f.) & 3 (*HH* 25, 1); 39; 40 (*HH* 3, 1-4); 131, 2; 136, 3; 178, 4; 183, 6 (*HH* 4, 524)
Homosexuality & pederasty (παιδεραστία). See also under love. 116, 4; 118; 127f.
Hope (ἐλπίς) & hopeless (ἄνελπις) 174; 209, 3
Hornsby, R. A. 84, 5; 231
Horse or mare (ἵππος) 104; 209
Hospitable (Ξείνιος) (Ξένιος) (epithet of Zeus). See also under hospitality. 203; 204
Hospitality (incl. ceremonial guest-friendship). See also under friendship &c. 31; 34, 1; 64; 66; 68 & 2; 69, 2; 71; 72 & 1; 74; 75, 3; 78 & 5; 88; 91-97 incl. 92, 2; 101; 134, 1; 138 & 5-6; 139 & 1; 143; 157, 5; 183f.; 188; 202-205; 208f. incl. 209, 1; 222; 225 & 2
Hounds (κύνες) (incl. sheepdogs) 146; 163 & 2-3; 165, 2
Howls, outcries, shrieks (βοαί) (ululatus) 104; 113, 4; 126; 128; 213
Hübscher, P. A. 21, 2; 209, 2; 231
Hügi, M. 1, 3; 231
Hughes, M. Y. 219, 2; 231
Hunting (κυνηγεσία) & huntsmen (κυνηγέται). See also under animals &c.; game. 89; 98; 100; 183, 3
Hurst, A. 9, 1; 87, 3; 89, 1; 93, 2; 109, 1; 111, 1 & 3; 115, 3; 120, 2; 122, 4-5; 217, 2; 231
Hyginus 14, 1; 26, 2; 33, 2; 34, 2; 75, 3; 143, 4; 153, 5; 154
Hylas (Ὕλας) 3 & 7; 12; 26; 29; 93, 3; 103; 109 & 2; Ch. VII passim; 131; 133; 134; 137; 146; 159; 160, 4; 186f.

Hyllus (Ὕλλος) 118, 1
Hyperboreans (Ὑπερβόρεοι) 177; 178
Hypermnestra (Ὑπερμνήστρα). See also under Danaïds. 60; 74
Hypsipyle (Ὑψιπύλεια) (Ὑψιπύλη) 3; 31 & 2; 32; 58, 4; Ch. V passim; 137; 151 & 2; 175, 2

Ialmenus (Ἰάλμενος) 32
Ibycus 164, 4
Ichor (ἰχώρ) 213, 3
Idas (Ἴδας). See also under Apharetidae. 15, 3; 27; 37; 49-57 incl. 49, 3 & 50, 3 & 51, 2 & 52, 4 & 55, 1 & 3 & 6 & 56, 1; 131, 3; 142; 187, 4; 189; 190 & 1; 209, 3; 211 & 4; 217 & 2
Idaea (Ἰδαία) 152 & 4
Idmon (Ἴδμων) 26; 30 & 3; 36 & 3; 47-53 incl. 48, 2 & 49, 1-2 & 53, 2 & 6; 55 & 6; 57; 105, 3; 120, 2; 152, 1; 162 & 2 & 5; 167 & 1; 189f. incl. 189, 4-5 & 190, 1; 194; 195f. incl. 195, 2-4 & 196, 2; 217
Ignorant, incurious, unaware, uncomprehending, unskilled (ἀμαθής) (ἀπράγμων) (νῆις) (nescius) 97 & 3; 147 & 3; 155 & 1; 162 & 5; 207 & 1
Imagery (incl. similes) (εἰκόνες) (παραβολαί) (imagines). See also under analogies &c. 2f. incl. 3, 1; 6 & 1-2; 12, 4; 38-43; 61; 69f.; 73, 4; 79; 80 & 3; 89; 98f. incl. 99, 1; 100f.; 119 & 4 & 6; 124; 125; 126-128; 135-138 incl. 135, 4 & 136, 1-2 & 137, 3-4; 140-142 incl. 140, 3 & 141, 1-2; 146f. incl. 146, 1 & 3 & 147, 1-2; 163f. incl. 163, 2; 169f. incl. 169, 3 & 170, 1-2; 178 & 4; 190, 2; 201; 211, 1; 212 & 3
Imbros (Ἴμβρος) 87, 3
Imitation, repetition, verbal echoing. See also under formulaic language. 15, 2; 43, 2; 65, 2; 66 & 1; 67f. incl. 68, 1; 72; 73; 102, 4; 106f. incl. 107, 3; 108; 113, 4; 118, 1; 121; 132f.; 145 & 3 & 5; 161; 166 & 1-2; 167 & 2; 171f.; 175 & 1; 178f.; 180f. incl. 180, 4 & 181, 1; 182f. incl. 182, 4 & 183, 1; 192; 195 & 2; 199f. incl. 199, 1; 201; 204f. incl. 205, 4; 208 & 2; 212, 2-3; 214f. incl. 215, 1; 217; 218, 5; 219 & 2; 220
Independent, self-reliant, self-sufficient (αὐτάρκης) 44; 47 & 2; 110; 125 & 5
India (Ἰνδία) & Indians (Ἰνδοί) 194, 4
Indirect or oblique. See also under oratio obliqua. 78; 79 & 2; 119, 6; 141; 142; 143, 2; 146 & 3; 175; 183 & 3; 222
Inheritance or legacy 203
Initiation 176, 1
Injury, wound (τραῦμα) (uulnus) 144; 145; 148; 198f.
Innovation or invention (Erfindung) 89, 1; 116, 5; 133, 2; 143, 4; 144, 2; 166, 6; 177, 5; 202, 1
Inquiry, interrogation, questioning. See also under quest or search. 49; 92; 97; 123; 134; 179; 190; 201; 204f. incl. 205, 1
Insane or mad (μαινόμενος) 81, 1; 119; 133, 2; 176
Intellect or mind (νόος) (νοῦς). See also under art &c.; wisdom. 136, 3; 140
Invocations Ch. I passim; 39; 207
Io (Ἰώ) 160 & 3
Iolcus (Ἰωλκός) 15; 19; 37; 43; 81; 178; 186, 2; 207
Ionia (Ἰωνία) & Ionians (Ἴωνες) 27 & 2; 28, 4; 90; 165
Iphiclus I (Ἴφικλος) (Jason's uncle) 25; 29; 30; 31
Iphiclus II (Ἴφικλος) (Meleager's uncle) 28 & 1; 29; 30
Iphinoë (Ἰφινόη) 63; 64; 67; 68
Iphitus I (Ἴφιτος) (son of Eurytus) 25 & 4; 29; 30; 31
Iphitus II (Ἴφιτος) (son of Naubolus) 28; 29; 30; 31; 36, 2
Iris (Ἶρις) 105, 5; 164 & 4; 165, 2; 166 & 2-3
River Iris (Ἶρις) 158; 161 & 2
Irony. See also under ambiguity: paradox; surprise. 14; 18f.; 21-23 incl. 22, 4-5; 28, 2; 33 & 4; 52; 55; 57, 3; 76 & 1; 98; 100, 3; 109; 117; 121; 125 & 2; 126f.; 140;

147,5; 152, 1; 179; 187, 4; 189; 199, 1; 204, 3
Irrevocable (οὐ παλινάγρετον) 150; 155 & 2
Irus (Ἶρος) 145, 3
Italy (Ἰταλία) 71; 83
Ithaca (Ἰθάκη) & Ithacans (Ἰθακήσιοι) 174; 204, 3
Itymoneus (Ἰτυμονεύς) (a Bebrycian, to be distinguished from Itymoneus of Dolionia) 145

Jason (Ἰάσων) (Ἰήσων) (Αἴσονος υἱός) (Αἰσονίδης). See also the several listings immediately following. 1; 3 & 6; 9; 13 & 3; 14 & 3; 15; 16; 17 & 3; 18; 19; 20 & 3-4 & 7-8; 21 & 2; 23 & 1; 24; 25 & 3; 26, 2; 28, 2; 29 & 3; 30 & 3; 31 & 2; 33; 34 & 1; 35, 4; 36, 4; 37; 38; 39 & 2 & 4; 40 & 1-2; 41; 42; 43; 44 & 3-4; 45 & 1-2; 46 & 3; 47; 49 & 2; 50 & 2; 51; 55 & 6; 56; 57 & 4; 58 & 1 & 4; 61; 63 & 3; 67; 68 & 2; 69 & 2; 70 & 2; 71 & 2; 72 & 1; 73; 74 & 1-2; 75, 3; 77 & 2; 79 & 1; 80; 81 & 2-3; 82 & 1; 83 & 1-4; 84, 3-4 & 6; 85; 86, 1; 88, 1; 89; 90; 98 & 3; 100 & 2; 102; 104; 105 & 5; 106; 107; 110; 112 & 2; 137; 138 & 4; 139, 4; 150; 155 & 2; 162 & 2 & 4-6; 167; 168; 172 f.; 175 & 2; 176 & 1-2; 177; 178 & 4; 185 & 1-2; 186 & 3; 187; 188, 3; 190 & 1 & 4; 192 & 1; 197; 198; 202 & 2; 203; 204 & 2; 205; 206, 1; 207; 208 & 2; 209 & 2-3; 210; 213, 3; 214, 1; 215f.; 217; 218, 5; 219, 1; 220; 223 & 3
Jasonian (Ἰησονίη) (epithet of Athena) 88; 98, 3
Jasonian roadstead (Ἰησονίη Ὁδός) 89; 98 & 3
Jasonian spring (Ἰησονίη Κρήνη) 91; 98, 3
Jason's sons (by Medea). See also under Deïpylus; Euneüs (both being sons of Jason by Hypsipyle). 81f.; 84 & 1 & 6
Jessen, O. 2, 6; 152, 2-3; 231
Justice (δίκη) 117, 5; 153

Kaibel, G. 36, 2; 231
Keensightedness 36; 49, 3
Keil, H. 2, 2; 233 s.v. Merkel, R.
Kingfisher (ἀλκυών) (ἀλκυονίς). See also under birds. 90; 104-107 incl. 105, 1-2 & 5 & 107, 1 & 3; 186, 3; 195f. incl. 196 & 2 & 5
Klein, L. 3, 2; 58, 5; 231
Knaack, G. 114, 1-2; 115f. incl. 116, 1-2 & 5; 118, 3-4; 121, 3; 231
Knockdown or knockout 141 & 3
Knorr, E. 18, 4; 93, 2; 115, 3; 232
Koch, H. H. 28, 4; 109, 2; 114, 2; 117, 2; 118, 2; 127, 2; 128, 3; 232
Köhnken, A. 78, 6; 79, 2; 111 & 1; 114, 1-2; 115, 1-2; 117, 5; 120, 2-3; 126, 4; 128, 3; 131 & 1; 133, 2; 135, 3; 136, 2; 137, 2; 138, 1; 143, 3-4; 145, 3; 232
Körte, A. 57, 4; 79, 3; 113, 3; 232
Krause, E. E. 2, 6; 232
Kroll, W. 122, 2; 232
Kulessa, I. 3, 1; 6, 2; 126, 4; 232
Kunst, K. 16, 4; 232

Labors or tasks (incl. Heracles' 12 ἆθλοι) 28, 2; 35, 4; 71; 89; 100 & 1 & 3; 105; 112, 2; 121 & 1; 124; 187, 3
Lacedaemon or Sparta (Λακεδαίμων) (Σπάρτη) & Lacedaemonians or Spartans (Λακεδαιμόνιοι) (Σπαρτιάται). See also under Laconia. 148, 1
Laconia (Λακωνία) 27; 34
Laërtes (Λαέρτης) 32 & 4; 156, 2
Langen, P. 25, 1; 93, 2; 153 & 2 & 5; 161, 2; 165 & 2; 232
Laöcoön (Λαοκόων) 27; 28, 1
Laömedon (Λαομέδων) 187, 3
Lapiths (Λαπίθαι) 128, 2
Latium & Latins. See also under Rome & Romans. 160, 5
Lawall, G. 44, 4; 47 & 4-5; 51 & 3; 52 & 4-5; 53 & 4; 55, 2 & 6; 57; 69, 3; 79 & 4-5 & 7; 80 & 2 & 4; 105, 5; 113, 2; 115, 3; 120, 2; 121, 1; 125, 2; 148, 4; 168, 4; 196, 5; 198 & 3; 200 & 2; 208, 3; 218, 5; 232
Left (σκαιός) (laeuus) (sinister) 143, 2; 145 & 5
Legrand, P. E. 113, 4; 133, 2; 232
Leïtus (Λήϊτος) 32

Lemnos (Λῆμνος) & Lemnian women (Λημνιάδες) 31; 32; 40, 2; 44 & 3; 46, 1 & 3; 55, 1 & 6; 58, 4; Ch. V passim; 87, 3; 91; 94; 122; 138; 150; 151; 160; 179, 4; 185; 186; 197; 208
Leodocus (Λεώδοκος) 26
Leonteus (Λεοντεύς) 31
Lesky, A. 28, 3; 232
Leucippus (Λεύκιππος) & Leucippids (Λευκιππίδες) 54, 3; 142
Levin, D. N. (works other than the present volume) 1, 4; 2, 3-4; 4, 3; 5, 1 & 3; 6, 3; 16, 4; 22, 4; 44, 3; 46, 3; 54, 3-4; 55, 6; 58, 4; 59, 2; 61, 1; 67, 3; 69, 3; 103, 3; 105, 5; 110, 1; 115, 2; 120, 2; 126, 1; 138, 4; 156, 3; 168, 1; 170, 3; 177, 3; 182, 1; 183, 3; 187, 1 & 3-4; 191, 4; 194, 3; 196, 4-5; 199, 2; 202, 1; 204, 3; 206, 3; 207, 2; 209, 2; 211, 4; 213, 4; 216, 2; 219, 1; 220, 2; 232 f.; 234, s.v. Phinney, E. S. Jr.
Libations. See also under rituals & sacrifices. 215
Libya (Λιβύη) & Libyans (Λίβυες) 191, 4
Liddell, H. G. 53, 2; 68, 3; 77, 3; 233 s.v. Liddell, H. G., Scott, R.
Lightning (στεροπή) 164
Linus (Λίνος) & Linus-song 220
Lion (λέων) (λίς). See also under animals &c. 119; 125; 136 & 1
Liver (ἧπαρ) (iecur) 212; 213
Locris (Λοκρίς) & Locrians (Λοκροί) 24, 3; 25; 31
Loeb, J. 57, 4; 229 s.v. Couat, A.
Loggers (ὑλοτόμοι) & logs (δόρατα) or timber (ξύλον). See also under firesticks. 89; 100 f.; 124; 132; 203
Logographers (λογογράφοι) 28, 4
Love (ἀγαπή) (ἔρως) (φιλία) (amor) (uenus). See also under amatory &c.; desire &c.; friendship. 1; 3; 4; 17 & 3; 28, 4; 58, 4; 61; 68, 2; 70; 74; 78, 6; 79; 80; 81; 82; 83 & 1; 84; 85, 1; 86; 91; 92f.; 105, 5; 115 & 4; 116 & 4; 117; 118 & 2-3; 123 & 3; 127 f.; 131; 144; 186; 207 & 1
Lucretius 218
Lycia (Λυκία) & Lycians (Λύκιοι) 39; 177; 178
Lycophron 68, 1; 147, 1
Lycurgus (Λυκόοργος) (Λυκοῦργος) 30
Lycus (Λύκος) 30, 1; 147 & 4; 157, 3 & 5; 167; 168 & 3; 182 & 1; 183 & 6; 184, 2; 185; 187 & 3; 188 & 1 & 3; 189 & 3; 195, 1; 225 & 1-2; 227
River Lycus (Λύκοιο ῥέεθρα) 224; 225 & 1-2
Lynceus (Λυγκεύς) (son of Aegyptus). See also under Aegyptids. 60; 74
Lynceus (Λυγκεύς) (son of Aphareus). See also under Aphaeretidae. 27; 36; 49, 2; 54 & 3-4; 58; 131 & 3; 136, 3; 139, 4; 142 & 2
Lyra (Λύρη). See also under lyre. 220, 1
Lyre (κιθάρα) (λύρα) (φόρμιγξ) 219 & 1; 220, 1

McKay, K. J. 187, 4; 232 s.v. Levin, D. N.; 233
McKenzie, R. 233 s.v. Liddell, H. G., Scott, R.
Mackail, J. W. 6, 4; 57, 4; 115, 3; 233
Macrieis (Μακριεῖς) 89; 93 & 2; 96; 99, 3; 147, 5
Macrones (Μάκρωνες) 159; 212
Magnesia (Μαγνησία) 59
Mahaffy, J. P. 6, 2; 113, 3; 119, 4; 233
Male or masculine (ἄρσην) 105 & 1; 127
Malevolent, malicious, malignant 13f.; 17; 139; 152; 154
Malis (Μαλίς) 116
Mariandynia (Μαριανδυνία) & Mariandyni (Μαριανδυνοί) 30, 1; 93, 1; 147 & 4; 157 & 3 & 5; 167; 182; 183 & 4; 184; 185; 187; 189; 198; 224 & 2; 225
Marquardt, J. 87, 4; 233
Marriage, Nuptials, Wedding (Ehe) (γάμος) (conubium) (nuptiae) 69, 2; 75, 2; 81 & 3; 83 & 3; 94f.
Martin, J. M. K. 141, 1; 233
Marvels, Miracles, Prodigies (θαύματα) (τέρατα) 87; 88; 90 & 2;

91; 104; 105, 5; 108 & 1; 156; 195; 197; 198; 215, 1; 220
Marxer, G. 3, 4; 233
Marzullo, B. 229 s.v. Dunbar, H.; 234 s.v. Prendergast, G. L.
Mast (ἱστός) 124; 214
Mast-holder (ἱστοδόκη) 214
Meadow (λειμών) 132
Mean (μέσον) (μεσότης) 53
Medea (Μήδεια) 1; 4; 9f.; 13, 3; 14; 15 & 1; 16, 4; 17 & 2; 19; 22; 23; 29, 4; 30, 4; 34, 1; 39, 4; 40, 1-2; 42, 1; 46, 3; 49, 2; 55; 56; 58 & 4; 68, 2; 69, 2; 70, 2; 71; 73 & 1; 74; 75, 2-3; 76 & 2; 80; 81 & 2-3; 82 & 2; 83 & 1-2; 84 & 2 & 6; 85; 86, 1; 105, 5; 110; 122, 4; 186; 199, 2; 206 f.
Medical treatment (ἴασις) (ἰατρική) 148
Megabrontes (Μεγαβρόντης) 103
Megara (Μέγαρα) & Megarians (Μεγαρεῖς) 226 & 3
Mehmel, F. 1, 3; 132, 1; 150, 3: 189, 3; 233
Melanippe (Μελανίππη) 200, 3
Melas (Μέλας). See also under Phrixus' sons. 202; 206
Meleager (Μελέαγρος) 27; 28, 1; 30; 31
Memory, recollection, remembrance, reminiscence (μνήμη) 81 & 2; 82; 167f. incl. 168, 4; 187; 199
Menelaus (Μενέλαος) ('Ατρείδης) 92; 102, 2
Menoetius (Μενοίτιος) 25; 32, 1; 36, 2
Mentes (Μέντης) 92; 205, 1
Mercy or pity (ἔλεος) (οἶκτος) (misericordia). See also under sympathy. 75; 85; 143 & 4; 150, 3; 151; 166
Meriones (Μηριόνης) 103
Merkel, R. 2, 2; 144, 3; 233
Mermerus (Μέρμερος) 103
Merops (Μέροψ) 94 & 4
Messenia (Μεσσηνία) & Messenians (Μεσσήνιοι) 25, 4
Metrics 77, 3; 94, 4; 100, 1; 105 & 1; 106; 183, 1; 199, 2
Meuli, K. 31, 2; 156, 3; 233
Mezentius 52, 4
Middle way 116, 3
Miletus (Μίλητος) & Milesians (Μιλήσιοι) 27, 1-2
Milton, J. 178, 6 (*PL* IV 301-303); 210, 3 (*PL* II 592-594); 219 (*PL* VIII 1-3) & 2
Mimas (Μίμας) (a Bebrycian, to be distinguished from Mimas, one of the Earthborn) 145
Minyas (Μινύας) & Minyans (Μινύαι) 30, 3; 31 & 1; 104; 144, 2
Mirmont, H. de la ville de 1, 3; 3, 2; 17, 3; 18, 4; 22, 4; 58, 5; 125, 3; 150, 3; 161, 2; 169, 3; 178 & 2; 195, 2; 196, 2; 200, 5; 218 & 3-4; 233
Misapprehension, mistaken identity, misunderstanding. See also under error. 57 & 2; 63f.; 89; 93 & 4; 96 & 1; 103; 127f.; 147, 5; 161, 2
Moderation or temperance (temperanza) (σωφροσύνη) 55, 6; 93, 1; 184, 2
Modern or new-fangled 55, 5-6; 116, 3
Mooney, G. W. 2, 1; 6, 2; 57, 4; 95, 1; 170 & 4; 178, 6; 219, 2; 233; 234 s.v. Robinson, D.M.
Moore, C. H. 14, 2; 233
Mopsus (Μόψος) ('Αμπυκίδης) 25 & 1; 30, 3; 34; 35; 36 & 3; 47f.; 55 & 6; 90; 105f. incl. 105, 3; 107; 120, 2; 152, 1; 162 & 2 & 5; 187, 1; 195 & 2-4; 196 & 2 & 4-5; 199, 2; 200; 207; 211, 4-5
Morale & pep-talks 40; 50 & 2; 162 & 6; 209, 3; 211 & 2; 213
Morys (Μόρυς) 103
Moschus 142, 4 (2, 118)
Moses Chorenensis 14, 1
Mossynoeci (Μοσσύνοικοι) 158; 198 & 2
Motive Ch. II passim; 28, 2; 36, 2; 54; 94; 112, 1-2; 117f.; 177; 203 & 2; 205
Mouthpiece or spokesman (porteparole) 105, 5; 107; 124; 203
Müller, K. O. 30, 3; 31, 1; 202, 3; 233
Murray, G. 84 & 3-4; 85; 233
Muses (Μοῦσαι) 10, 3; 11; 12; 207
Museum of Alexandria (Μουσεῖον) 218
Mycenae (Μυκῆναι) & Mycenaeans (Μυκηναῖοι) 27, 2

Mygdonians (Μύγδονες) 187
Myres, J. L. 93, 2; 233
Myrhina (Μυρίνη) (capital of Lemnos) 44; 46, 3; 63; 68; 72; 75; 76; 79; 137
Myrmidons (Μυρμιδόνες) 41
Mysia (Μυσὶς γαῖα) & Mysians (Μυσοί) 88, 3; 93, 1 & 3; 103; 108, 3; 109, 1-2; 113; 180, 3; 185; 187
Mysterious 76, 1; 202
Mythology. See also under alternative traditions. 3 & 2; 5 & 3; 28, 4; 30, 1; 197

Naber, S. A. 113, 2; 233
Natural or spontaneous (αὐτοφυής) 84 & 2; 99; 124; 135; 153
Naubolus (Ναύβολος) (grandfather of Nauplius) 191 & 3
Naubolus (Ναύβολος) (father of Iphitus II) 30; 31
Nauck, A. 14, 1; 233
Nauplius (Ναύπλιος) (son of Poseidon & Amymone) 191
Nauplius (Ναύπλιος) (son of Clytoneüs & descendant of the foregoing) 26; 30; 36; 191; 194
Nausicaä (Ναυσικάα) 39, 4; 81, 2; 127, 2; 156 & 2
Naxos (Νάξος) 69, 2; 86, 1
Neck (αὐχήν) 142, 3; 148, 4
Nectar (νέκταρ) 147
Needy (δευόμενος) (ἐπιδευής) (χατέων) 71; 94 & 1; 136, 3; 190; 195; 208
Neleus (Νηλεύς) 32, 3; 33
Nereus (Νηρεύς) & Nereïds (Νηρεΐδες) 142, 4
Nestor (Νέστωρ) 11; 32 & 3; 33 & 1 & 4; 34; 47, 1; 92; 162, 1; 174; 175
Nicander 45, 1; 115, 4
Nicias (Νικίας) 131
Niobe (Νιόβη) 90, 2
Nonnus 218
Norm or rule 116; 119, 4; 127; 166 & 6; 186, 2; 187, 4; 190, 1; 198 & 2
Norwood, G. 162, 6; 234
Nose (ῥίς) or nostrils (ῥῖνες) 145
Novius Plautius 143, 4
Nucleus (ὀμφαλός). See also under architectonics &c.; concentric &c.; symmetry. 34f.; 122-124 incl. 122, 3 & 5
Nurse (τροφός) 9f.; 42; 65, 2; 66; 72
Nurture (τροφή: incl. γηροκομία) (φορβή) 43; 100; 117
Nychea (Νύχεια) 116 & 5
Nymphs (νύμφαι). See also under dryads & hamadryads; fountain-nymphs. 90; 116 f. incl. 116, 5; 121; 123; 127f.; 133; 146; 166, 5; 206; 222
Nys(s)a (Νύσα) & Nysean (Νυσήϊος), incl. Nysean plain (Νυσήϊον πεδίον) 194, 4; 210

Oak (δρυς) (φῆγος). See also under trees. 215, 1
Oar (ἐρετμός) & rowing (εἰρεσία) 87, 3; 91; 109 & 2; 110; 111 & 3; 112, 1; 121; 124 & 2; 125 & 2; 133; 170; 172; 191; 212 & 3; 214
Oar-handle (κώπη) 169; 191
Obsolete or old-fashioned 55 & 5; 56
Oceanus ('Ωκεανός) 207
Odor, stench (δυσοσμία) (ὀσμή) 62f. incl. 62, 2-3
Odysseus ('Οδυσσεύς) = Ulysses 32, 4; 34, 1; 55, 5; 81, 2; 87, 1; 92, 2; 127, 2; 145, 3; 156 & 2-3; 160; 163, 2; 164, 3; 174 & 4; 175, 1; 176 & 3; 184; 203f. incl. 204, 3; 219
Oeagrus (Οἴαγρος) 181, 1
Oechalia (Οἰχαλία) & Oechalians (Οἰχαλιεῖς) 25, 4
Oedipus (Οἰδίπους) 76, 1; 96 & 2; 152, 1; 189
Oïleus ('Οϊλεύς) 25; 31; 103; 198f. incl. 199, 1
Olympus ("Ολυμπος) & Olympian gods ('Ολύμπιοι θεοί) 51; 54; 90, 3; 137; 140, 2; 149; 172
Oratio obliqua. See also under indirect or obliqne. 185; 217
Oratio recta 64; 184f.; 187
Orchomenus ('Ορχομενός) 22 & 1-2; 23 & 1; 31 & 1; 202 & 3; 222; 223 & 4
Oreites ('Ωρείτης) 135; 146
Orithyia ('Ωρείθυια) 154
Oromedon ('Ωρομέδων) 12

Orphans & orphanhood. See also under foster-parent &c.; stepmother. 42; 43 & 2
Orpheus (Ὀρφεύς) (παῖς Οἰάγροιο). See also the two listings immediately following. 25; 30; 34; 35; 36, 2; 37 & 1; 39, 2; 50 & 1; 55, 6; 58; 180 & 5; 181, 1; 217; 218; 219; 220 & 1; 221 & 1
"Orpheus" (Ὀρφεύς) (= author of *Orphic Argonautica* (*OA*)) 99, 3; 132, 1; 135, 1 (*OA* 659; 663); 143, 4; 144, 2 (*OA* 666); 152 & 5; 153 (*OA* 675f.); 154, 1; 169, 1 (*OA* 682; 709; 1160); 172, 2; 177, 5; 184, 2; 189, 3; 190, 2; 217 (*OA* 421); 218 & 2; 219; 225, 1 (*OA* 718f.)
Orphism 217, 5; 218
Otis, B. 3, 5; 11, 2; 39, 4; 84, 2; 114, 1; 131 & 1; 132 & 2; 234
Otus (Ὦτος). See also under Aloeus; Ephialtes. 51; 54 & 1
Overseer (Ἐπόψιος) (epithet of Zeus) 203; 208
Ovid 74, 1 (*Her.* 6, 25f.); 75, 2-3; 87 & 1; 90, 2; 122 & 1; 127, 2; 133, 2; 142, 1; 162, 1; 163, 2; 166, 5; 218; 225
Oxymoron 94, 3
Pagasae (Παγασαί) 14; 37; 38; 43; 57; 58; 88, 3; 137; 178; 186, 2; 192, 1; 194, 3
Painting & sculpture 38, 3; 44, 2; 65, 2; 122, 5
Pairing &/or tripling. See also under architectonics &c.; division of labor; simultaneity. 35; 81; 87 & 1-2; 98; 103f. incl. 104, 2; 113, 4; 115-122 incl. 116, 3 & 5 & 120, 2 & 122, 1; 124; 125; 128; 134; 149 & 1; 189f. incl. 190, 2; 195, 3; 201; 203; 209; 224; 226
Palaemonius (Παλαιμόνιος) 28
Pallor (χλόος) 211 & 1
Palmer, R. B. 57, 4; 234
Pandareüs (Πανδάρεος) & Pandarides (Πανδαρέου κοῦραι) 164
Pandion (Πανδίων) 152 & 4; 153; 154
Mount Pangaeus (Πάγγαιον) 34
Panhellenic 35, 4; 45
Paphlagonia (Παφλαγονία) & Paphlagonians (Παφλαγόνες) 158; 187
Paradox. See also under irony; surprise. 43; 46; 53; 56; 57; 82; 92f. incl. 93, 1; 96; 98; 102, 2; 155; 156; 175; 201
Paraebius (Παραίβιος) & Paraebius' father 150, 1; 152, 1; 166 & 5-6
Parricide 96
Parry, H. 133, 2; 234
Parry, M. 70, 1; 234
Parthenius (Παρθένιος) 152 & 4; 153; 154
Pasiphaë (Πασιφάη) 206
Passive 100; 127f.; 162, 6; 171, 2; 179, 3; 182, 3
Pathos 82; 93, 1; 127; 150
Patroclus (Πάτροκλος) 11; 32, 1; 41
Patronymic 223 & 1
Pearson, L. 28, 4; 234
Peisistratus (Πεισίστρατος) 92
Pelasgic (Πελασγικός) 15 & 2; 93, 2 & 4; 99, 3
Peleus (Πηλεύς) (Αἰακίδης) 26 & 1; 32; 49, 2; 55, 6; 99, 3; 103; 179 & 5; 190 & 3; 192; 193f.; 209, 3; 211 & 2 & 5
Pelias (Πελίας) (Πελίης). See also under Pelias' daughters. 9; 10; 13 & 3; 14; 15, 3; 16; 17 & 3; 18; 19; 20 & 3-4 & 6; 21; 22 & 5; 23 & 1-2; 24; 28, 2; 29, 3; 40; 43 & 2; 62, 1; 84, 6; 175; 185 & 2; 186; 188, 3; 204, 1
Pelias' daughters (Πελιάδες) 14 & 1; 29, 3; 84, 6
Pelion (Πήλιον) 10
Pelopea (Πελόπεια) 43
Peloponnesus (Πελοπόννησος) (Πέλοπος νῆσος) 34; 35
Penelope (Πηνελόπεια) 39, 4; 92, 2; 156 & 2
Pentheus (Πενθεύς) 61, 2
Percote (Περκώτη) & Percosians (Περκώσιοι) 94
Percussion instruments 91
Periclymenus (Περικλύμενος) 27; 32, 3; 33f. incl. 33, 4
Periphetes (Περιφήτης) 103
Pero (Πηρώ) 33, 4
Perrotta, G. 114, 2; 123, 3; 234
Perry, E. D. 232 s.v. Körte, A.
Perses (Πέρσης) 152; 160, 5
Perseus (Περσεύς) 60, 3
Persia (Περσὶς γαῖα) & Persians

(Πέρσαι) 210, 3
Perspiration or sweat (ἱδρός) (ἱδρώς) 125; 141, 3; 143, 3
Peschties, E. 69, 3; 143, 4; 145, 3; 234
Pfeiffer, R. 114, 2; 234
Phaeacians (Φαίηκες) 29, 4; 34, 1; 93, 1; 191, 3; 219
Phaedra (Φαίδρα) 17, 2
Phaëthon (Φαέθων) (to be distinguished from Phaëthon = Apsyrtus) & sisters 90, 2
Phalces (Φάλκης) 103
Phalerus (Φάληρος) 26
River Phasis (Φᾶσις) 159, 3; 162; 214
Pherecydes 13, 2; 26, 3; 218
Phidippus (Φείδιππος) 31
Philoctetes (Φιλοκτήτης) 32 & 3-4
Philyra (Φιλύρα) (island or eponymous nymph) 212, 1
Philyres (Φίλυρες) 159; 212, 1
Phineus (Φινεύς) (blind prophet & King of the (Bi)thynians) 9; 20; 36, 4; 40, 2; 41, 2; 55, 6; 58 & 4; 59, 2; 65, 2; 66, 2; 90, 3; 102, 1; Ch. IX passim; 169, 2; 170, 2; 171; 173; 177; 178; 185; 186; 188, 3; 189, 1; 194, 4; 195 & 4; 197; 199 & 2; 201f.; 205; 207; 209, 1; 212, 1; 215, 6; 222; 224
Phineus (Φινεύς) (son of Agenor) 152 & 3
Phinney, E. S. Jr. 3, 5; 10, 3; 11, 1; 21, 2; 29, 4; 38, 3; 40, 1; 43, 2; 44, 4; 60, 4; 65, 2-3; 73, 4; 74, 2; 80, 2 & 4; 83, 1-2; 86, 1; 93, 1; 151, 1; 182, 1 & 3; 213, 3; 215, 6; 218, 5; 234
Phleas (Φλείας) 26
Phlius (Φλιοῦς) 26
Phlogius (Φλογίος). See also under Deïmachus & Deïmachidae. 30, 1
Phocis (Φωκίς) & Phocians (Φωκεῖς) 24, 3; 28; 31
Phocus (Φῶκος) 26, 1
Phoenix (Φοῖνιξ) (Achilles' friend & counsellor to Agamemnon) 47; 51, 2; 116, 4
Phoenix (Φοῖνις) (ancestor of Phineus the blind prophet) 152 & 3
Phrixus (Φρίξος) (υἱὸς Ἀθάμαντος). See also under Phrixus' sons. 19 & 2; 22 & 1; 23 & 1; 30; 105, 5; 202; 205 & 5; 206 & 1; 209; 222f. & 1
Phrixus' sons or Phrixids. See also under Argus II; Cytissorus; Melas; Phrontis. 19 & 2; 20, 3; 22; 23 & 1; 26, 3; 30, 1 & 4; 35, 4; 58 & 4; 167; 202 & 1-2; 203; 206; 207; 208; 209 & 3; 210; 214 & 1; 222, 5; 223 & 4
Phrontis (Φρόντις). See also under Phrixus' sons &c. 202; 206
Phrygia (Φρυγία) & Phrygians (Φρύγες) 91
Phthia (Ἀχαιὰ Φθιῶτις) (Φθία) 26, 1; 99, 3; 179
Phyllis (Φύλλις) 222
River Phyllis (προχοαὶ Φυλληΐδες) 177; 222
Physical 116, 4; 125, 2; 135; 136 & 3; 140; 149 & 1; 156; 159, 3; 171; 222
Physiology 43
Piety & religion (εὐσέβεια). See also under dutiful & responsible. 54, 2; 55, 6; 56; 187, 4; 217, 5
Pindar 13, 2; 31, 1; 34f.; 79; 105, 3 (*P* 4, 189-191) & 5; 151 & 6; 162, 6
Pirithus (Πείριθος) 26 & 2; 29, 2; 31; 33 & 3
Pisander 143, 4
Pitcher (κάλπις) (πρόχοος) 121
Pivot. See also under architectonics &c.; transition. 109 & 1; 111, 3; 207
Planctae (Πλαγκταί) 156, 3
Plane or sycamore (πλάτανος). See also under trees. 133
Plato 116, 4
Plexippus (Πλήξιππος) 152 & 4; 153; 154
Pliny the elder 225, 4
Plot (ἐπιβουλή) 51; 152; 209
Plowing & plowmen 60
Poeas (Ποίας) 32 & 4
Pollak collection 65, 2
Polydamas (Πουλυδάμας) 54, 2
Polydeuces (Πολυδεύκης) = Pollux. See also under Dioscuri. 3 & 7; 27; 30; 34; 47, 4; 54, 4; 55, 6; Ch. VIII passim; 156, 2; 163; 184; 189; 200

Polymestor (Πολυμήστωρ) 139, 3
Polyneices (Πολυνείκης) 101, 2
Polyphemus (Πολύφημος) (son of Elatus) 25; 33; 36, 3; 93, 3; 103; 110; 111f.; 112, 4; 113; 115f. incl. 115, 4 & 116, 1; 118 & 3; 119 & 3; 121; 124; 125; 126-128 incl. 126, 4-5 & 128, 2-4; 134; 158, 5; 186f. incl. 187, 1-2
Polyphemus (Πολύφημος) (son of Poseidon). See also under Cyclopes. 92, 2; 131; 146; 203f. incl. 204, 3
Polypoetes (Πολυποίτης) 31
Polys Aegialus (Aigialosstrand) (Πολὺς Αἰγιαλός) 158 & 2
Polyxo (Πολυξώ) 41, 2; 64; 65 & 1; 66; 67; 71f.; 78, 4; 150f. incl. 151, 2 & 6
Pontus (Πόντος) 162; 165; 182; 198; 209; 222
Poseidon (Ποσειδάων) (Ποσειδῶν) = Neptune 15 & 3; 27, 1 & 3; 30; 32; 100; 178f.; 191; 204 & 3
Potential (δυνάμει) 142; 226
Praeteritio 161
Prayer (εὐχή) 37; 105, 5; 182, 3; 190, 2
Predators (Raubtiere). See also under animals &c.; booty &c.; brigands. 126 & 5; 127 & 1; 128; 146
Prendergast, G. L. 69, 5; 94, 3; 234
Pre-socratics. See also under Empedocles. 217; 218
Priest (ἱερεύς) or priest-slaughterer (βουτύπος) 142 & 3
Priolas (Πριόλαος) 187
Prometheus (Προμηθεύς) 105, 5; 140, 2; 150, 3; 160 & 3; 183, 6; 212 & 2; 213 & 3-5
Promeus (Προμεύς) 57
Propertius 5 & 3; 110 & 3-4; 125, 5
Propitiation (ἱλασμός) 91; 106; 189; 195
Propontis (Προποντίς) 87, 3; 124; 197
Prosperity or wealth (ἄφενος) (πλοῦτος) 202; 209
Protection & protector & protégé. See also under education &c. 105 3; 114, 1; 117 & 4; 123; 127 & 1; 151; 178; 203; 208; 226
Protesilaus (Πρωτεσίλαος) 31
Prothoön (Προθόων) 103
Prytaneum (πρυτανεῖον) 222, 5
Psychology 43; 74; 82 & 2; 134, 4; 147, 5; 175 & 2; 180; 193; 194; 200f.; 213
Ptolemies (Πτολεμαῖοι) & Ptolemaic times. See also under Alexandrian &c. 4, 3; 15, 3; 57, 4
Punishment, recompense, requital, retaliation, retribution, revenge, vengeance (ποινή) (τίσις) (ultio) 14-16; 17 & 2; 18 & 4; 54; 62; 76f.; 85; 100 & 2; 139, 1; 150; 151; 152 & 5; 153; 154; 155; 156; 166, 5; 187f.; 203; 213; 225
Pylos (Πύλος) 33; 34
Pytho (Πυθώ) 39

Quest or search (ζήτησις). See also under inquiry &c. 14, 3; 103; 110; 113; 115f. incl. 115, 4; 117; 119; 121; 123; 124; 133 & 1; 166; 175; 187; 191, 4; 198, 1; 222

Ram (κριός) &/or sheep (ὄϊς). See also under animals &c. 105, 5; 126-128 incl. 127, 1; 146; 148; 203; 205 & 2; 206, 1; 209; 222; 223 & 3
Ram's rest (Κριοῦ Εὐναί) 205, 5
Rannow, M. 114, 2; 234
Ransom (ἄποινα) 200, 3
Rational or reasonable 56; 126, 4
Recognition (ἀναγνώρισις) 90; 93; 103; 133; 152, 1; 158; 199; 207; 208
Reconciliation 110; 112; 116 & 3; 120; 154; 183, 6
Reconnaissance 89; 98
Rehabilitation or restoration 57, 4; 151; 155; 166, 6
Reinach, T. 87, 4; 234
Rejuvenation 156 & 2
Remorse 83
Rescue & rescuer. See also under safety &c. 153; 154; 160, 3; 170 & 3; 172; 173; 197; 209f.
Responsibility. See also under piety &c. 53, 6; 152; 153, 1
Reticence Ch. IX passim, esp. 161
Reversal (περιπέτεια) 100; 127
Rhea (Ῥείη) 91; 105, 5; 106 & 1; 107; 108, 1; 225

River Rhebas (Ῥήβας) 157; 177; 222
Rieu, E. V. 117, 3; 169, 3; 234
Right (δέξιος) (δεξιτερός) (dexter) 143, 2; 145 & 5
Rituals & sacrifices (θυσίαι). See also under altar &c.; priest &c.; victim. 37; 40, 1; 46; 54, 2; 87; 88 & 3; 91; 105, 5; 106; 108; 113; 117; 142 & 3; 148; 176, 1; 178; 180; 182 & 3; 183, 3; 194, 4; 205 & 5; 209; 223, 3
Robertson, D. S. 205, 2; 234
Robinson, D. M. 2, 1; 234
Rococo 65, 2
Romanticism 80; 116, 3
Rome & Romans. See also under Latium & Latins. 84; 122; 144; 154; 165; 190, 2
Rose, H. J. 47, 3; 163, 3; 164, 1; 234
Rosenmeyer, T. G. 55, 5; 234
Roux, R. 15, 3; 30, 4; 31, 2; 39, 2; 44, 3; 51, 1; 56, 1; 68, 2; 77, 2; 93, 2 & 4; 126, 1; 156, 3; 170, 4; 176, 1; 187, 3; 234
Ruge, W. 87, 4; 234
Rustafjaell, R. de 87, 4; 108, 1; 234
Rzach, A. 3, 4; 234

Sacred (ἱερός). See also under Sacred Rock. 77, 2; 178
Sacred Rock (Ἱερὴ Πέτρη) 89
Safety, salvation (σωτηρία) (salus). See also under rescue &c. 47; 52; 53; 57; 60; 153; 167; 173; 175; 180 & 2; 109, 1; 210
Sail (ἱστίον) & sailing (πλοῦς) & sailors or seafarers (ναῦται). See also under Argo; Argonauts; helmsmanship &c.; oar &c.; ship. 28 & 3; 89 & 1; 103; 109; 110; 112 & 1; 119, 6; 124, 2; 189; 194; 203; 212; 214
Sailor-savor (Σοωναύτης). See also under River Acheron. 226
Sailyard (ἐπίκριον) 214
Salamis (Σαλαμίς) (Ἀτθὶς νῆσος) 26, 1; 31
Samos (Σάμος) (Παρθενία) 192
Samothrace (Σαμοθράκη) 87, 3
Samuelsson, J. 65, 3; 234f.
Sanchez-Wildberger, M. 113, 4; 116, 4; 119, 6; 235
Sandal 13; 18
River Sangarius (Σαγγάριος) (Sagaris) (Sagiarius) 161, 1; 224; 225 & 4
Sangas (Σάγγας) 225
Sapires (Σάπειρες) 159; 212
Schaefer, G. H. 228 s.v. Brunck, R. F. B.
Schedius (Σχεδίος) 31
Scheidweiler, F. 145, 3; 235
Scheria (Σχερίη) = Island of the Phaeacians 93, 1
Schmid, E. 34, 2
Scholia to Apollonius' *Argonautica* (incl. glosses) 1, 1; 15, 3; 25, 4; 38; 39, 4; 40; 43 & 2; 51 & 2; 59, 3; 61, 2; 62 & 2; 63, 4; 64, 1; 65; 67, 4; 68, 2; 70 & 2-3; 73, 4; 74; 75; 78, 3-4 & 6; 87, 4; 88, 2; 92; 93, 2; 94, 3; 95; 96f. incl. 96, 3 & 97, 3; 99, 3; 100, 1; 105, 5; 113, 1; 115, 4; 118, 1; 128 & 2 & 4; 142, 3; 143, 4; 152; 159, 3; 164, 3; 165, 2; 183, 6; 197, 1; 200, 1 & 5; 205, 5; 214, 1; 222 & 4-5; 225 & 1-3; 226 & 3
Scholia to Euripides' tragedies 76, 2
Scholia to Homer's *Iliad* & *Odyssey* 152, 4
Scholia to Pindar's *Epinicia* 13, 2
Scholia to Theocritus' *Idylls* 112, 2; 123
Scott, J. A. 64, 1; 235
Scott, R. 53, 2; 68, 3; 77, 3; 233 s.v. Liddell, H. G., Scott, R.
Scylax 87, 4
Sea (ἅλς) (θάλασσα) (πέλαγος) (πόντος). See also under Aegean Sea; Black Sea; Propontis. 13; 142, 4; 148; 162; 164, 3; 172; 191; 199, 1; 201f.; 204; 217 & 3; 220
Sea-foam (ἅλμη) (ἀφρός) 169
Seaton, R. C. 2, 1 & 3; 65, 3; 117, 3; 144, 3; 161, 2; 164, 2; 169, 3; 234 s.v. Robinson, D. M.; 235
Secretly (λάθραι) 142, 4
Secrets revealed 150, 3; 154; 167, 1
Sedge (βούτομον) 132
Seers (μάντεις) & seercraft (μαντική)

(μαντοσύνη). See also under Idmon; Mopsus; Phineus. 35 & 1; 36; 47f.; 49; 51; 52; 53 & 6; 54, 2; 57; 58; 102, 1; 105; 120, 2; 151 & 1; 155 & 2; 157; 158; 159; 161; 162 & 2 & 5; 163; 166, 6; 167 & 1; 168 & 1; 189; 190; 194-196 incl. 195, 2 & 196, 2; 199; 207
Selene (Σελήνη) = Luna 10 & 3
Selfishness & self-interest 176 & 1
Self-promotion 192
Separation & regret. See also under absent &c. 45 & 2; 125f. incl. 126, 1; 148; 168 & 2; 186 & 4
Serbonian Bog (Σερβωνὶς λίμνη). See also under Bog &c. 210 & 3
Serrao, G. 114, 1; 235
Servius 165, 2
Sesamus (Σήσαμος) 161, 1
Shame (αἰδώς) (pudor). See also under admiration & respect; averted eyes. 48, 2; 53; 72-74 incl. 72, 3 & 74, 1; 75 & 2; 79, 1; 203f.
Shameless (ἀναιδής) 199
Shield (σάκος). See also under armament &c. 55; 91; 201; 220 & 2
Ship (ναῦς) & shipwrights (ναυπηγοί). See also under Argo; helmsmanship &c. 37; 46; 61; 69; 141; 170; 171; 174; 175; 176; 189; 192; 194, 3; 201; 202; 203; 204; 209; 210; 212, 3; 215; 216; 226
Shipsaver (Νηοσσόος) (epithet of Apollo or of Artemis) 220 & 1; 226, 2
Shipwreck (ναυαγία) 159; 202; 203; 204; 209; 223
Shock (ἔκπληξις) 103; 121; 190 & 2
Shore (ἀκτή) (θίς) 132f.
Shoresider (Ἄκτιος) (Ἐπάκτιος) (epithet of Apollo) 88, 3; 180 & 1
Shoulder (ὦμος) 142f. incl. 143, 1; 199, 1
Shrinkage (μείωσις) 143 & 3; 156, 2
Shrivelled or withered (ῥικνός) 65; 151
Silence (σιγή) (σιωπή) or speechlessness (ἀμφασίη) (ἀφασία) 40 & 2; 49, 2; 61 & 3; 162 & 3; 219
Silenus (Σειληνός) 218
Simonides 60, 3; 220 (fr. 62 Page); 221 & 1
Simultaneity (Gleichzeitigkeit). See also under division of labor; pairing &c.; succession. 48; 92; 120f. incl. 120, 3; 133 & 1; 143, 3; 156, 1; 171f.; 190; 198; 212
Sinope (Σινώπη) (city & eponymous nymph) 197; 198
Sintians (Σιντηΐδες) (Σίντιες) 59 & 1; 60, 1
Siphae (Σῖφαι) 26, 3
Size (μέγεθος) 45; 121, 1; 135 & 3; 136; 143 & 3; 156 & 2
Skutsch, F. 122, 2; 235
Slander (διαβολή) 152
Sleep (ὕπνος) 102, 1; 107; 210
Socrates (author of Πρὸς Εἰδόθεον) 115, 4
Songs (ἀοιδαί) (ᾠδαί) & singers (ἀοιδοί). See also under Orpheus. 37 & 1; 50 & 1; 101; 148; 159; 180; 181 & 1; 217 & 2-3; 218; 219; 220 & 1
Sophocles 55, 5; 63, 4; 76 & 1; 78, 3; 96 & 2; 101, 2 (*Ant.* 29f.); 152 & 4; 189
Soul (ψυχή) 63, 2; 215
Sown men (Σπαρτοί) 88, 2
Spear (ἔγχος) & speart-point (ἀκώκη). See also under armament &c. 50; 51; 55; 56; 61, 1; 68; 69; 72, 1; 145, 5; 201
Special attributes & specialists 36; 162, 5; 170, 3; 211; 215f. incl. 216, 1
Sphodris (Σφόδρις) 103
Spiro, F. 4, 3; 235
Stables (σταθμοί) 58
Stanford, W. B. 55, 5; 64, 1; 235
Stars (ἀστέρες) 38; 70 & 1; 119, 6; 137 & 3; 138; 179
Statius 62, 2
Stepmother (μητρυιά) (nouerca). See also (more positively) under foster parent &c. 42; 43, 2; 152 & 4; 153; 209f.
Sthenelus (Σθένελος) 32 & 2; 195; 197; 220, 1
Stichomythia. See also under altercations &c. 134; 139, 3
Stoessl, F. 10, 1; 60, 4; 65, 3; 73, 4; 81, 2; 88, 2; 155, 3; 158, 2; 166, 5; 235
Storms (ἄελλαι) (θύελλαι) (χείματα). See also under Storm-wind; winds &c. 13; 89; 90; 105f.; 108; 124; 164 & 2-3; 203; 210; 226
Storm-wind (Ἀελλώ). See also under Harpies. 164
Straps (ἱμάντες). See also under boxing &c. 134, 4; 140, 1 & 3; 147, 3
Straton 139, 2
Stuart Jones, H. 53, 2; 68, 3; 77, 3; 233 s.v. Liddell, H. G., Scott, R.
Sturdy (παχύς) & Sturdier (πάσσων) 143, 3; 156 & 2
Stymphalian Lake (Στυμφαλὶς λίμνη) 200 & 4-5
Subtlety 15, 1; 54f.; 78, 4; 120f.; 171; 182f.; 206, 1
Success, triumph, victory, win 124; 126; 134, 4; 137; 138, 4; 144; 146; 148f.; 167; 172; 173; 183, 3; 187, 4; 194; 196 & 4; 200, 5; 201; 202, 1; 207, 1; 213, 3
Succession (Nachzeitigkeit). See also under simultaneity. 120f. incl. 120, 3; 189; 197
Suicide 83; 84
Suitors (μνηστῆρες) 92,2
Sullivan, F. A. 52, 4; 235
Sun (ἥλιος). See also under Helios. 59; 203
Suppliant (ἱκέτης) & supplication (ἱκεσία) or pleading. See also under supplicator. 151; 166, 5; 190, 2; 203f.; 207; 208
Supplicator (Ἱκέσιος) (epithet of Zeus) 203
Surprise (incl. unexpected or unplanned). See also under irony; paradox. 45; 50; 52; 59, 2; 93; 101; 108 & 3; 111; 117; 123; 149, 1; 180; 196 & 4
Suspense. See also under auguries &c. 216
Suspicion & wariness 93; 96f.; 184 & 1; 187, 4
Swift-wing (Ὠκυπέτη). See also under Harpies. 164
Swim 205, 2
Sword (ἄορ) (ξίφος) (φάσγανον). See also under armament &c. 55; 127
Sychaeus 82; 83, 1
Symmetry. See also under adjacent &c.; architectonics &c.; concentric; nucleus. 25; 34f.; 36; 98 & 2; 111, 1; 120-124 incl. 120,2 & 122, 2 & 5; 126, 3
Sympathy (συμπάθεια). See also under mercy &c. 80; 150; 151 & 6; 154; 176; 208; 213, 4; 218
Symplegades (Κυάνεαι πέτραι) (Πληγάδες) (Συμπληγάδες). See also under crags &c. 9 & 2; 47; 105, 5; 150, 1; 156; 157, 1 & 3; 159; 167; 169-173 incl. 169, 1 & 170, 1 & 171, 1 & 172, 2; 180, 2; 183; 186 & 1; 190, 1 & 4; 191 & 5; 222
Syracuse (Συράκουσαι) & Syracusans (Συρακόσιοι) 116, 4; 133; 135

Taenarum (Ταίναρον) 34
Talaüs (Ταλαός) 26
Tanagra (Τάναγρα) & Tanagrians (Ταναγραῖοι) 65, 2; 226, 3
Tantalus (Τάνταλος) 225
Tapestries 87, 1
Tarditi, G. 16, 4; 235
Teiresias (Τειρεσίας) 76 & 1; 152, 1; 155, 2; 212, 3
Telamon (Τελαμών) 14, 3; 26 & 1; 31; 45, 2; 55, 6; 103; 110; 112 & 2-3; 179 & 5
Telecles (Τηλεκλέης) (Τηλεκλῆς) 103
Telemachus (Τηλέμαχος) 92
Temples (κρόταφοι) (tempora) 143 & 2
Tension (Spannung). See also under architectonics &c. 155, 3; 160
Testing or trial (πεῖρα). See also under inquiry &c. 18; 55 & 2; 171; 174 & 1; 175; 176 & 1; 190, 4; 191 & 5
Tethys (Τηθύς) 207
Teucer (Τεῦκρος) 103
Thebes (Θῆβαι) 32; 194, 4
Cape Themiscyra (Θεμισκύρειος ἄκρη) 158; 160, 3; 197 & 2; 198
Theocritus 4 & 3; 11 (*Id.* 17, 1); 12 (*Id.* 7, 45-48) & 1-3; 54 (*Id.* 22, 210f.) & 4; 68, 1; 76, 4; 105, 2; Chs. VII-VIII passim; 156, 2; 184, 2
Theodamas (Θειοδάμας) 116, 4; 117 & 5; 118, 1; 159

Therapnae (Θεραπναί) & Therapneans (Θεραπναῖοι) 148, 1
River Thermodon (Θερμώδων) 158; 160, 3; 188 & 3
Thersites (Θερσίτης) 174, 4
Theseus (Θησεύς) 18, 2; 26 & 2; 33 & 3; 69, 2; 86, 1; 112, 2
Thespiae (Θεσπιαί) 26, 3
Thessaly (Αἱμονία) (Θεσσαλία) & Thessalians (Θεσσαλοί) 9; 13; 14; 15, 3; 17; 20, 2; 21; 22; 25 & 3-4; 26, 1; 28; 31, 1; 34; 92; 93, 2; 99, 3; 137; 180; 213, 3
Thirst (δίψα) (δίψος) 222, 4
Thoas (Θόας) 31; 32 & 2; 60 & 3 & 5; 64; 74; 76; 83, 1
Thompson, D' A. W. 105, 2; 235
Thomson, E. A. 176, 1; 235
Thrace (Θράικη) & Thracians (Θρᾶικες). See also under Bistonian. 25; 28; 61; 75; 76; 77 & 2; 78; 157, 3
Thunderbolt (κεραυνός). See also under lightning. 54; 210; 217, 4
Thynias (Θυνιὰς νῆσος). See also under Bithynia &c. 157 & 3-4; 177 & 3; 178; 180; 182; 183, 3; 222; 224
Tibareni (Τιβαρηνοί) 158; 198, 2
Tiles 201
Tiphys (Τῖφυς). See also under helmsmanship &c. 26 & 3; 36 & 2-3; 47; 55, 6; 111f.; 120, 2; 141, 2; 167; 170 & 2; 171; 173; 175; 187, 4; 189f. incl. 190, 1-2; 191f.; 193; 194, 3; 195, 3; 209, 3; 215
Tiptoe 142 & 3
Titans (Τιτῆνες) 149; 213 & 4
Titaresius (Τιταρήσιος) (patronymic epithet of Mopsus) 195
Tities (Τιτίης) 187
Tityus (Τιτυός) 136f.; 141, 2
Tlepolemus (Τληπόλεμος) 31
Torture 213 & 3
Trachis (Τραχίς) & Trachinians (Τραχίνιοι) 113
Tradition. See also under alternative traditions. 89, 1; 105; 115; 121, 1; 143, 4; 166, 4; 209; 218f.
Transformation (μεταμόρφωσις) 90 & 2; 133, 2; 156; 160; 225
Transition. See also under architectonics &c.; pivot. 60; 63f.; 111, 3; 150, 1; 167; 182; 197; 201
Traitors (προδόται) & treachery (προδοσία) (πρόδοσις) 60, 1; 84 & 3; 150; 153; 154
Trees (δένδρα). See also under oak; plane. 90, 2; 91; 166, 5; 219
Tripartition. See also under architectonics &c.; pairing &/or tripling. 4; 216
Troy (Ἴλιον) (Τροία) & Trojans (Τρῶες) 24; 29; 31; 32 & 4; 33 & 1; 41; 47, 1; 48; 94, 4; 174; 179; 184; 187, 3
True, unfeigned, veracious (ἀληθής) (ἐτεός) (ἐτήτυμος) (uerus) 76; 77; 78; 95, 2; 96; 158; 167 & 1; 174; 176, 1-2; 189; 199; 204 & 3; 209, 3 214; 215, 6
Türk, G. 114, 1-2; 116, 5; 118, 2; 231 s.v. Knaack, G.; 235
Turnus 163, 2
Twelve gods (δώδεκα θεοί) 178
Tydeus (Τυδεύς) 32 & 4
Tyndareos (Τυνδάρεος) & Tyndarids (Τυνδαρίδαι). See also under Castor; Dioscuri; Polydeuces. 138, 2
Typhoeus (Τυφωεύς) 136; 137
Typhon (Τυφάων) 205, 3; 210
Tzetzes 221 & 1

Unburied (ἄταφος) 101, 2
Undemocratic 174 & 4
Unequivocal 225 & 1
Unfaithful. See also under traitors &c. 82
Unharmed (ἀσκηθής). See also under safety &c. 171; 172 & 1; 180 & 2
Unwept (ἄκλαυτος) 101, 2

Vacillation 56
Valerius Flaccus 1 & 2; 25 & 1; 32; 33; 34, 2; 62, 2; 78 & 4 (II 324f.); 79 & 4; 93, 2; 99, 3; 100; 104 (III 347-349); 110 & 4; 132 1; 134, 2; 135 (IV 202); 136 (IV 202f.); 141, 1; 143, 4; 144, (IV 315f.); 147, 3 (IV 252-254): 150 & 1 & 3 (IV 479-481); 151 & 5-6; 153 & 2; 154 (IV 476f.); 155; 156; 160 (IV 438-443) & 4-5; 161 (IV 599f.) & 2; 162 (IV 544-546; 626f.) & 2 & 5-6; 164, 4; 165 (IV

512f.) & 2; 166, 6; 167 (V 4f.) & 1 (V 4); 169, 1 (IV 221; V 299); 170, 1-3; 172, 2; 177, 5; 189, 3; 190, 2; 195, 4; 213, 5
Varro Atacinus 1, 2
Vatican 44, 2
Venzke, H. 217, 5; 235
Vermaas, C. R. 150, 3; 235
Vian, F. 1, 4; 2 & 5; 235
Victim. See also under predators; rituals & sacrifices. 57; 101; 142; 148, 4; 150; 180; 182; 183, 3; 213
Virgil 1 & 3; 4; 6 & 4; 14, 2; 39, 4; 52, 4; 61; 68, 2; 69, 2 (*Aen.* I 650); 71 (*Aen.* IV 361); 80, 3; 82 (*Aen.* IV 327-330); 83, 1; 84 & 2 & 5; 85 & 1; 91f.; 104 (*Aen.* XI 188-190); 132, 1; 142, 1; 160, 5; 163, 2; 165, 2; 167 & 2 (*Aen.* VI 620); 185; 202, 1; 211, 1 (*Aen.* IV 499); 212, 3 (*Aen.* I 300f.); 218
Vivaldi, A. 6

Walther, R. 3, 3; 28, 4; 170, 3; 177, 3; 235
Wanderings (πλάναι) 123; 169; 184
War (πόλεμος) & warriors (πολεμισταί) (στρατιῶται). See also under armament &c.; armed clash &c. 33; 35, 1; 41; 50-57 incl. 53, 6 & 54, 2 & 55, 5-6; 61 & 1; 63 & 4; 94; 105, 5; 128; 144; 174; 175; 176, 3; 191; 192; 193; 197; 198, 2; 200; 211; 216
Water (ὕδωρ) & watery pathways (ὑγρὰ κέλευθα). See also under sea. 121; 139; 191; 205; 220
Webster, T. B. L. 38, 3; 65, 2; 235
Wedding gifts (ἕδνα = dona) (φέρνη = dos). See also under marriage &c. 95 & 1
Wehrli, F. 4, 3; 235
Weichert, A. 44, 4; 93, 2; 235
Well-tressed (ἐύθριξ) (εὐπλόκαμος) 94 & 5; 104
Wendel, C. 1, 1; 236
West, M. L. 218 & 1; 236
West wind or Zephyr (Ζέφυρος). See also under winds & climate. 183 & 1
Whitman, C. H. 122, 5; 236
Widows (χῆραι) & Widowhood (χηρεία) 42; 60, 5; 77
Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. von 44, 4; 75, 3; 114, 1; 116, 4; 118, 1; 139, 2; 143, 4; 144, 2; 166, 6; 205, 2; 236
Willis, J. 28, 3; 232 s.v. Lesky, A.
Winds (ἄνεμοι) (οὖροι) (πνοιαί) & climate. See also under storms; west-wind. 5, 1; 59 & 2; 90, 3; 91; 105 & 2; 106; 108 & 3; 109 & 2; 112 & 1; 124; 164 & 1-3; 182 & 4; 183 & 1; 197, 2; 212
Wine (οἶνος) 132
Wing (πτερόν) (πτέρυξ) (incl. feather or quill). See also under birds. 164; 169 & 3; 170; 171; 199 & 1; 212 & 3
Wisdom (Klugheit) (saggezza) (σοφία) (φρόνησις) (sapientia). See also under art &c.; intellect &c. 55, 6; 57
Wolf (λύκος) 146
Women (γυναῖκες). See also under amazons; chaste &c.; female &c. 55; 57; Ch. V passim
Wordsworth, J. C. 1, 4; 4, 1; 6, 2; 229 s.v. Crees, J. H. E., Wordsworth, J. C.
Wright, F. A. 57, 4; 236

River Xanthus (Ξάνθος) 39
Xenophanes 122, 5; 136, 3 (fr. 23B = 19, $2D^3$)
Xenophon 225, 1 (*Anab.* VI 2, 3)

Yoke (ζυγόν) (iugum) 170, 1
Youth (νεότης) 40 & 1; 65 & 1 & 3; 94; 128 & 2

Zelys (Ζέλυς) 103
Zenodotus 101, 2
Zetes (Ζήτης). See also under Boreas &c.; Calaïs. 14 & 3; 28; 30; 34; 35; 36 & 3; 76, 4; 103 & 3; 105, 5; 151; 153 & 1; 154; 155; 156 & 1; 160, 3; 163; 164 & 4; 165; 166 & 2-3
Zeus (Ζεύς) = Jupiter. See also under Cape Zeus Genetaeus. 10, 3; 11; 19; 22; 30; 38, 2; 40; 50; 54 & 2 & 4; 58; 90, 3; 100 & 3; 106 & 1; 112 & 2; 137 & 2; 138 & 2; 148 & 1; 149; 150, 3; 153; 163; 165, 2; 172, 2; 178; 183, 6; 194; 4;

197, 2; 201; 203; 204; 205 & 5; 208 & 3; 210; 213, 4; 217, 2 & 4

Cape Zeus Genetaeus (Ζηνὸς Γενεταίη ἄκρη) 158

Ziegler, K. J. F. von 11, 2; 236